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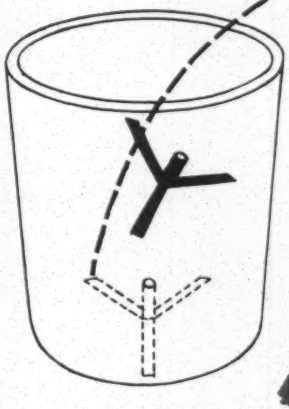

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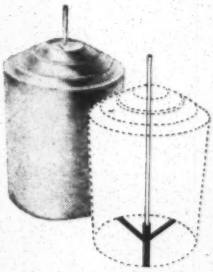

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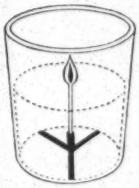

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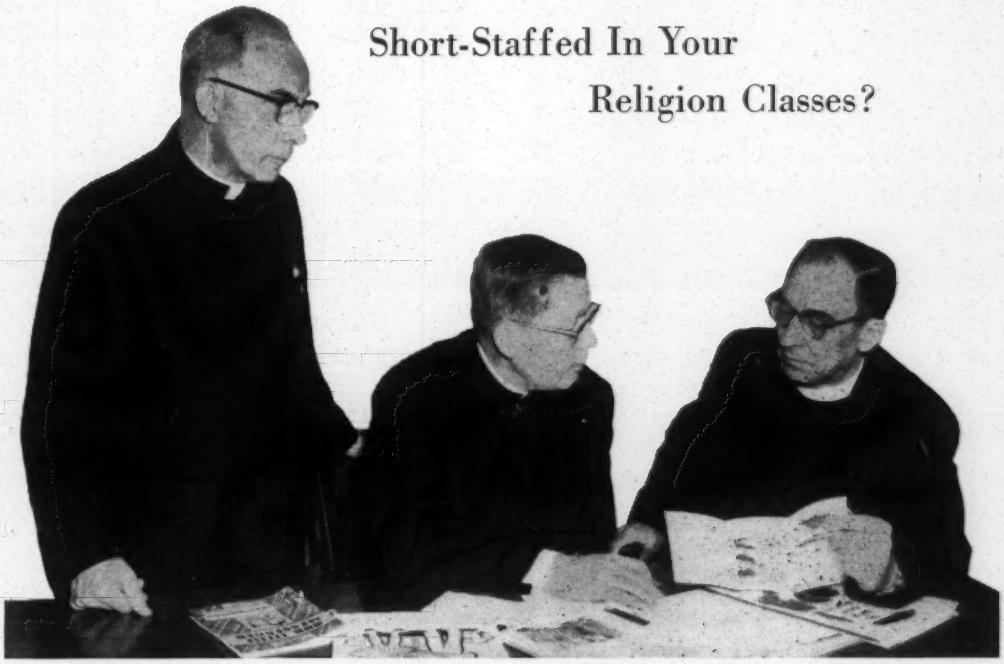

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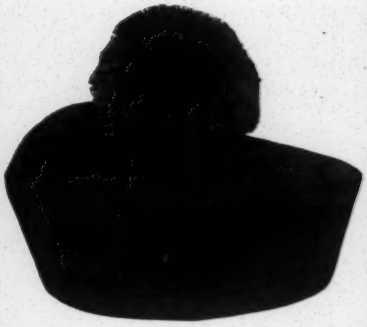

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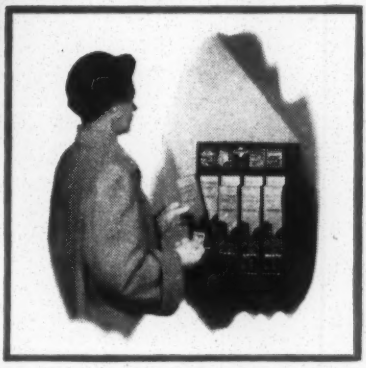

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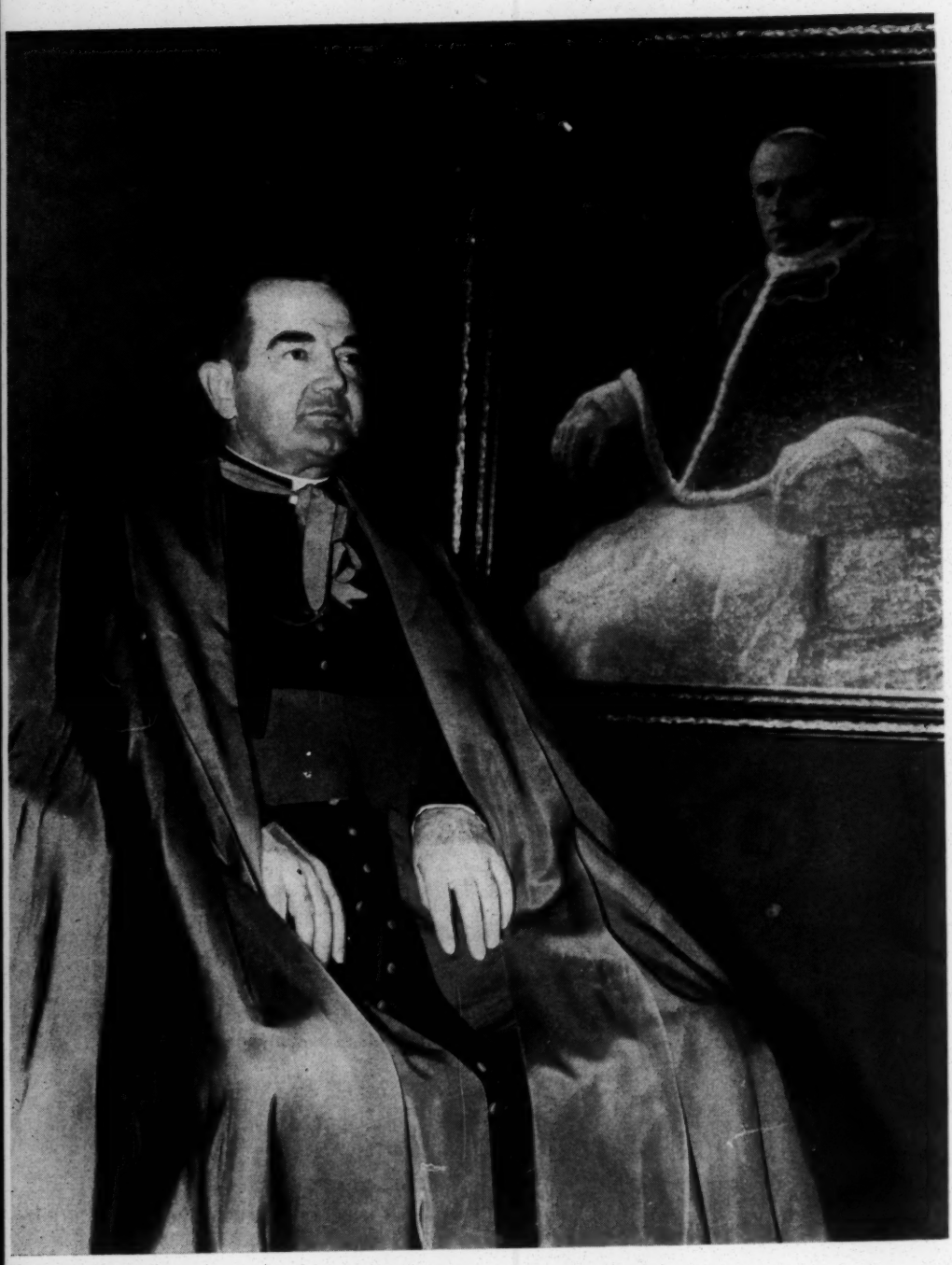

MONSIGNOR McDONALD

Last month we received the welcome tidings that the Right Reverend Monsignor William J. McDonald, Ph.D., had been appointed by His Holiness Pope Pius XII as the ninth Rector Magnificus of The Catholic University of America. We of *The American Ecclesiastical Review* take this opportunity to congratulate Monsignor McDonald, to assure him of our heartfelt prayers that God may continue to bless him and the University over which he has been called to preside, and to offer him our pledge of sincere and loyal support.

Monsignor McDonald is the fourth of the University's Rectors to have been promoted to this high position after having served here in a professorial capacity. He won his degree as Doctor of Philosophy here in 1939. The following year he joined the teaching staff of the University's School of Philosophy. In 1950 he rose to the grade of Ordinary Professor of Philosophy, succeeding to the chair vacated by his friend Bishop Sheen when the latter left the University to take up his duties as National Director of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

In December, 1954, Monsignor McDonald was named Vice-Rector of the University. The following month the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities named him the University's Director of Studies for the Ecclesiastical Schools. He has served as Acting Rector since last June.

Admirably fitted, by his intellectual brilliance, his administrative competence, his fairness, and his unfailing affability, for the intensely important work to which God has called him, through the voice of the Sovereign Pontiff, Monsignor McDonald assumes charge of our University at one of the most critical periods of our country's history. For our new Rector, who is also our old friend and an ever valued contributor to the pages of *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* prayerfully, we ask God's choicest blessings.

THE CHURCH AS A MOTIVE OF CREDIBILITY ACCORDING TO THE VATICAN COUNCIL

The argument that the Church itself is a motive of credibility has, since 1870, shown new strength and popularity. Some theologians even rely entirely on the evidence of the living and visible organization which is the Roman Catholic Church. But all apologists, whether they exaggerate or minimize the function of this motive or proof, take as their common starting point words from the third chapter of the third session of the Vatican Council.

This article will present the formulation of this doctrine in its various stages from the original schema through all the changes and amendments to the final draft agreed upon by the Fathers of the Council and approved by Pope Pius IX. Nor is this analysis purely academic, for by it we learn how the solemn magisterium operates under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and what the full meaning of its dogmatic pronouncement is. St. Robert Bellarmine gives us a basic principle for the interpretation of conciliar documents, one which also serves as a justification for this study.

> In the de fide decrees themselves, not the words but only the sense pertains to the Faith. For it is not heretical to say that some word is superfluous or not rightly put, unless it happens that the decree is formed about that very word, as when in the Council of Nice, they decree that the word "homoousion" be accepted; and in Ephesus, the word "theotokon."[1]

The German Jesuit theologians, Franzelin and Schrader, were chosen by Pope Pius IV to prepare the original schema before the bishops got to Rome. Here is the section of their schema which treats the Church as a motive of credibility.

[1] In ipsis decretis de fide, non verba, sed sensus tantum ad fidem pertinet. Non enim est haereticum dicere, in canonibus conciliorum aliquod verbum esse supervacaneum, aut non recte positum, nisi forte de ipso verbo sit decretum formatum, ut cum in Concilio Nicaeno decreverunt recipiendam vocem *homoousion;* et in Ephesino vocem *theotokon.* St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J., *De Conciliis,* Lib. II, cap. xii.

The Saviour of the human race willed to accommodate the proclaiming and preaching of the whole revealed doctrine to all nations and times by sending His envoys to the ends of the earth until the consummation of the world in perpetual succession and agreement under a visible head vested with the insignia of a divine mission: and thus, He instituted the Catholic Church and distinguished it with manifest notes of His institution, in order that the guardian and teacher of the revealed word might be recognized by all. Moreover, to this religious communion alone and to no other belong all the motives which, numerous and marvellous, have been divinely disposed for the evident credibility of the Christian Faith. Therefore, just as this true Church of Jesus Christ is, to those who have not yet come into it, a sign lifted up by God Himself among the nations and a perpetual admonition that they seek out the truth and embrace it when found; so, also, in the same one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, the faithful, learned and unlearned, rest upon the firmest foundations, always prepared, as far as each and every one in accordance with his position may be called upon to do so, to give a satisfactory account to everyone who may ask, of that hope which is in them.[2]

The two theologians also wrote an *Adnotatio,* an elaboration and clarification of the original schema. As it turned out when the final draft was made, this secondary part seemed to contribute more than did the part initially proposed; though, as we shall see neither bore a very close resemblance to the definitive text. Here is the pertinent section of the *Adnotatio.*

In the proclamation and preaching of the revealed word, 1) the divine institution of the Catholic Church is so taught that this very thing is easily recognized by all men to whom the apostolate to bring about obedience to the Faith is directed, and that through this Church alone, according to the order divinely established, the pronouncement of all the revealed doctrine is accommodated to all men of all times. For, 2) the Catholic Church was so established by Christ and distinguished with such characteristics that it really is and ought to be called, indeed, a great and perpetual motive of credibility, or rather a complexus of all the motives which, numerous and marvellous, are divinely disposed for the evident credibility of the Christian Faith. For all the motives of credibility, with which Christ the very Saviour and with which the Apostles by virtue of the

[2] Mansi. *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio,* L, *col.* 65.

Holy Spirit illuminated their preaching, stretch forward to the catholic Church in its manifest connexion with Christ and the Apostles, and indeed to no other religious communion; just as to her alone pertains the perennial continuation of the motives of credibility in the wonderful propogation and conservation of the Christian religion, in its effects certain and wonderful and exceeding all natural causes, in the mode and multitude of the martyrs, and in, by a moral continuity, a perpetual manifestation of charisms.[3]

At the Council of Trent, on the other hand, the procedure was radically different, for the Father's themselves directed the theologians as they prepared the preliminary material. The old way seems to have been the best way; for to the surprise of everyone, almost everyone wanted to reject the original schema. Even the Jesuits themselves, at a meeting called by the General and composed of the bishops and theologians of the Society that were attending the Council, quickly let it be known that they, too, were not in favor of the proposed formulation.

Franzelin defended his work before the Council in some twelve thousand unsuccessful words; for even though the *Deputatio* or presynodal commission would have been content with amending the schema, the Fathers themselves insisted that the whole thing be done again. A small group within the commission was formed. It consisted of Deschamps, Pie and Martin. They decided that Archbishop Conrad Martin of Paderborn should undertake the work assisted by the Jesuit Kleutgen who came as theologian to Bishop Pie. They had the material ready for the commission by the last of February. The commission worked on it in eight sessions from the first of March to the eleventh, and finally distributed it to the Fathers on the 14th. It was entitled *Schema reformatum constitutionis dogmaticae de fide catholica patrum examini propositum.* The section in point reads thus:

Ut autem huic officio veram fidem amplectendi in eaque constanter perseverandi satisfacere possemus, Deus per Filium suum unigenitum Ecclesiam instituit, suaeque institutionis manifestis notis instruxit, ut ∧ custos et magistra verbi revelati ab omnibus *facile agnosceretur.* Ad *nullum* enim *religiosam societatem praeter* solam Catholicam Ecclesiam ea pertinet omnia, quae ad evidentem fidei

[3] *Ibid.*, cols. 92 f.

Christianae credibilitatem tam multa et tam mira divinitus sunt disposita. Quin etiam Ecclesia per se ipsa ∧ magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.[4]

The Schema was to remain substantially the same. However, there were some important changes and additions which are shown by the italics and carets respectively. An examination of the history of this paragraph as it was brought to full perfection by the Fathers is very illuminating.

The Fathers received the reformed schema, studied it, and proposed corrections. After the suggestions were made, but before the vote was taken as to their incorporation into the chapter, the *Deputatio* analyzed and evaluated them. The report of the *Deputatio* was read by the *relator*. For this section it was Archbishop Martin. The *emendationes* or amendments which are applicable here number from sixty-one to seventy two.[5]

The sixty-first amendment was a good example of the persistent tendency among some present to include too much in the chapter. The *relator*, while admitting that the Church was instituted not only to lead men to the true faith and to confirm them in it, but also to fulfil certain other noble ends such as the glory of God, insisted that it was not the intention of the Deputation to speak of these other ends. The proposed amendment was rejected by almost all the Fathers.

Some of the suggested amendments were stylistic, such as the sixty-second which proposed that *suaeque institutionis* be changed to *eamque suae institutionis;* and the sixty-fourth which proposed that *qua* be added after *ut*. The first of these amendments was rejected. The second was accepted in principle but instead of *qua, ea tanquam* was added after the *ut* and before the *custos*. Since these were matters of style, the *Deputatio* could use its own discretion; so no vote was taken.

The sixty-third, which we temporarily by-passed, was related to the two just mentioned for it concerns an amplification of *agnosceretur*. This amendment was put to a vote, since it was not completely stylistic. It was, however, rejected by almost all the

[4] Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 5, 201-426.
[5] *Ibid.*, cols. 305 f., 325 f.

Fathers. When the *Deputatio* was drawing up the next draft which incorporated the amendments made, it changed *agnosceretur* to *posset agnosci,* but simply for reasons of style.

The sixty-fifth amendment was proposed by Bishop Errington and is one of doctrinal significance, the removal of the words *ab omnibus facile* before the *agnosceretur.* The *relator* in his report suggested that the *facile* be removed but that the *ab omnibus* be retained. The Fathers voted in accordance with the recommendation of the *relator.* Later on, in the penultimate draft, an exception was suggestion by Bishop Moriarty of Kerry which would expand the formulation thus, *ab omnibus, quibus proponitur (seu praedicatur), posset agnosci.*[6] The *Deptuatio* considered the relative clause merely a stylistic addition and rejected it without a vote.

The next amendment, the sixty-sixth, was proposed by Bishop Martinez of St. Christopher, and makes an important dogmatic point in strong and uncompromising language. It was accepted by the Fathers and the change was made; but it is helpful for us to hear it in full.

> In the line where it says, "to no other religious society etc.", the Council seems in some small way to lend a hand to the heretics who struggle to call their sect a religious society, since really and truly, they are nothing else but societies of wicked men who detain the word of God in injustice. Therefore, since there is no true religious society except that which under one head and under the same laws and sacraments professes the true religion of God and Christ, it is not lawful to give the name of religious society except to the Catholic Church. And therefore, these words in the following ought to be changed to "Only to the Catholic Church do those things pertain etc." (The *Deputatio* later formulated it "to the Catholic Church alone. . . .")

The sixty-seventh and sixty-eighth amendments were included in the sixty-sixth, for they were variations on a formulation which would preserve the uniqueness of the position of the Catholic Church as a religious society.

The sixty-ninth amendment proposed the substitution of the word *certam* or *indubitam* for *evidentem* which was in the schema. The *Deputatio* voted to retain the original reading and the Fathers

[6] Mansi, *op. cit.,* LXV, cols. 402, 416.

were almost unanimous in upholding this decision. The reason was: "Because according to St. Thomas and according to the common doctrine of all theologians the signs of credibility are evident; these signs are truly evident signs of credibility."

There was an attempt to omit the words from "*Quin etiam Ecclesia per se* to the end of the paragraph and the word *irrefragabile,* as superfluous; but the Fathers rejected this, the seventieth amendment, because as they said, this sentence "contains a certain gradation and complement of those things which were said earlier about the Church." In fact, they decided to accept an addition to it which the *relator,* Archbishop Martin, referred to "as a beautiful exposition of the motive of credibility which is contained in the Church." The suggestion was made by Bishop Felix Dupanloup one of the opponents of the proposed definition of Papal infallibility. It read: "*. . . tum mirabilem propagationem, tum sanctitatem eximiam et in omnibus bonis inexhaustam foecunditatem, tum Catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem. . . .*" This was the seventy-first amendment.

A more detailed enumeration of the elements that made the Church a social miracle was made in the next and last amendment, the seventy-second. Since it was considered merely *paulo fusior* it was rejected without vote because of the acceptance of the previous amendment. The proposal was made by Paul Ballerini, Patriarch of Alexandria. It is worth hearing completely. He says that the Church is seen as a motive of credibility "because of the continuous fulfilment of the existing prophecies concerning it, and because of its marvelous origin and spread, and the witness of its innumerable martyrs, and its undefiled continuation amid lasting and most hateful enemies, and the unity of doctrine, the lofty sanctity of most of its sons, the most certain miracles accomplished by them, which things can not be explained without the special intervention of God."

The decision on this last amendment was followed by a vote on the revised text of each chapter, and, then, by a vote on the Constitution as a whole which took place on April 12th. There were no *non placet's;* but there were a number of conditional votes, *placet juxta modum.* One of these was the stylistic suggestion of Bishop Moriarty of Kerry which we have already seen. It was rejected together with all but two of the hundred and forty-eight

"exceptions." Neither of these two affects the portion of the chapter we are considering. Here is the final draft with all the changes since the reformed schema placed in italics.

Ut autem officio veram fidem amplectendi in eaque constanter perseverandi satisfacere possemus, Deus per Filium suum unigenitum Ecclesiam instituit, suaeque institutionis manifestis notis instruxit, ut *ea tanquam* custos et magistra verbi revelati ab omnibus *posset agnosci.*

Ad solam enim catholicam Ecclesiam ea pertinent omnia, quae ad evidentem fidei christiane credibilitatem tam multa et tam mira divinitus sunt disposita. Quin etiam Ecclesia per se ipsa, *ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis foecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem,* magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.[7]

Finally, this text which had been prepared through the diligence of the Fathers under the guidance of the Holy Spirit was read as part of the Constitution *Dei Filius.* The Pope presided in person at this, the third public session of the Council, and, after a unanimous *placet* from the six hundred and sixty-seven Fathers present, confirmed their decision by his own apostolic authority.

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[7] *Ibid.*, 432. This volume has a few minor changes from the *Versio a deputatione novissimae adoptatum,* 337. They are: *tanquam* instead of *tamquam;* a new paragraph beginning with *Ad solam; ob* instead of *per; admirabilem* instead of *mirabilem;* and, the elimination of the three *tum's* from Dupanloup's contribution.

SAINT CHARLES BORROMEO IN HOMILETIC TRADITION

Those historical figures who have done most to establish the format of clergy education since the Council of Trent would be presumed to have done much to fix the pattern of homiletic theory and training in the seminary curriculum. Such a man, in whom the presumption is fully verified, was Saint Charles Borromeo, founder at Milan of the great prototype of Tridentine seminaries everywhere. His place in homiletic tradition is established not only by what historians tell us of his preaching reform in Lombardy and of his zeal for seminary education, but even more clearly by direct examination of the homiletic theory he proposed to his priests already at work in the ministry and the homiletic training he provided for the seminarians preparing to assist and succeed them. Elements of his highly successful program can be traced as they are adopted in the provincial synods of France in the sixteenth century, continued in the major seminaries conducted by the Vincentians and Sulpicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and found still operative in the nineteenth century and down to our own day in the American seminary system built upon the French tradition.

Still in his early twenties, the young Cardinal Borromeo, as alter ego of his uncle Pope Pius IV, re-convened the interrupted Council of Trent and by his energy and diplomacy helped to bring its deliberations to a successful close and publish its decrees. Two of those decrees were to influence homiletic tradition profoundly: the decree on the reform of preaching and the famous decree on seminaries for the clergy.

That a reform of preaching was going to be necessary was evident long before the Council first convened in 1545. One cause of the decay had been lack of education among many of the clergy; another cause was too much education of the wrong kind. Many of the uneducated clergy scarcely knew doctrine from heresy, and filled their sermons with sensational tales of the miraculous, predictions of the end of the world, and highly contrived interpretations of Scriptural texts. Their more educated colleagues too often followed the neo-pagan tendencies of the Renaissance and garbled

together in their sermons the truths of Christian revelation and the fantasies of classical mythology. Even if contemporary satirists and modern historians said nothing of all this, we have full evidence of it in the preparation and proceedings of the Council itself.

In June of 1543, the Archbishop of Vienna sent Pope Paul III a long memorandum about the forthcoming Council and in it listed what he considered the abuses of preaching. There are too many preachers quite unqualified to teach orthodox doctrine, he complains, and of those whose doctrine is orthodox there are too many who lead scandalous lives. Preachers often neglect Sacred Scripture for the sake of stories and fables, or prefer recondite theological questions to wholesome moral instruction. They do not adjust to the capacity of their listeners and they fail to preach about the simple and salutary truths of the Faith which are the staple of a good Christian life.[1]

The Fathers at the Council, gathered from all over Europe, admitted these charges, and each embellished the tale with observations of his own, all lamenting the state of decay. It was clear that the reform of preaching would have to be fundamental, and would have to begin with a re-statement of homiletic ideals. For this task a committee was created which met many times from March until June in the year 1546 and in many discussions drew forth lengthy statements of principle.[2] There were high points of drama, as when by a single masterful speech the Augustinian General Seripando reversed the trend of voting by which the majority had been about to abridge the rights of religious in the exercise of the office of preaching.[3] But more important than the drama was the doctrine, as the committee painstakingly hammered it out on the anvil of discussion. Unfortunately, perhaps, for homiletic tradition, the noble formulation of the apostolic ideal of preaching which they read to the assembly on May 7, 1546, had to be reduced.[4] Laws and decrees, as the Archbishop of Palermo said on that occasion, should be as short and clear as possible.

[1] Societas Goerresiana (ed.), *Concilium Tridentinum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930), XII, 407.

[2] Johann Ev. Rainer, S.J., "Entstehungsgeschichte des Trienter Predigtreformdekretes," *Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Theologie,* XXXIX (1915), 256-317; 465-523.

[3] *Ibid.,* 511-514.

[4] Societas Goerresiana (ed.), *Concilium Tridentinum,* V, 125 ff.

And short indeed is the statement of homiletic theory that finally issued in the second chapter of the fifth session on reform. After providing for frequent preaching, the Council simply states that the preachers are to feed their flock "with wholesome words in proportion to their own and their people's capacity, by teaching them those things that are necessary for all to know in order to be saved, and by impressing upon them with briefness and plainness of speech the vices that they must avoid and the virtues that they must cultivate, in order that they may escape eternal punishment and obtain the glory of heaven."[5]

With equal terseness, nearly two decades later in 1563, the Council passed what the Fathers at Trent considered their greatest single reform, the seminary decree of the twenty-third session, eighteenth chapter on reform. Seminaries were to be established in every diocese for the training of the clergy, in which "they shall study grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation, and other useful arts; shall be instructed in Sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical books, the homilies of the saints, the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things that seem adapted to the hearing of confessions, and the rites and ceremonies."[6]

The two decrees, one providing for a reform of preaching and the other providing the education which was to make that reform possible, said only as much as it was necessary for an Ecumenical Council to say, wisely leaving the details to be worked out by the bishops acquainted with local needs and conditions in their dioceses. The important fact was that the principles had been stated, and the discussions that had preceded their formulation were still ringing in the ears of the bishops who now returned to their dioceses to carry out the Tridentine decrees. What was needed now more than anything else was some bishop with a zeal for reform and a genius for administration who would show his fellow bishops what these decrees could mean in practice. That bishop, in God's Providence, was found in Charles Cardinal Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan.

Saint Charles held the First Provincial Synod of Milan in 1565. The legislation of that body fills a hundred closely printed columns

[5] Henry Joseph Schroeder, O.P. (ed. and trans.), *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis: Herder, 1941), p. 26.

[6] *Ibid.*, 176.

in the large folio volumes of Mansi. Three columns deal with preaching,[7] compared with the short paragraphs in which the Council of Rheims in 1564[8] and the Council of Cambrai in 1565[9] had merely paraphrased and condensed the decisions of Trent. After repeating almost verbatim the laws of Trent on the duty of preaching and its frequency, Saint Charles and his Council begin to put teeth into those laws. They promise that as soon as they can they will publish a sermon manual for the use of those who do not feel competent to prepare their own material. In the meantime these latter are to have recourse to skilled preachers who will write their sermons for them, or at least translate them from the Latin sermons of approved authors. For delivery to the congregation, the ghost-written sermons are to be either memorized verbatim or read from manuscript. To see that all this is done, every pastor and curate must send to the bishop every month the manuscript of one of the sermons he has actually delivered to his people.[10] This, says the decree, will enable the bishop to estimate the zeal of the skilled sermon-writers and the diligence of those who have to make use of their coaching. It will also reveal what preachers are making no progress under any amount of coaching and which ones are so unsuited to their office that their preaching is doing more harm than good.

After setting up this machinery for the close supervision of preaching in every diocese, the First Provincial Council of Milan proceeded to sketch the ideal of homiletic content. Preachers are warned against outlandish interpretations of Holy Scripture and the excessive use of allegories. If allegories there must be, let them be drawn, said the Council, from approved sources only. Furthermore, it was not for the preacher to prophesy the day of judgment or to give pat explanations of the intricate workings of Divine Providence. They should also cease telling apocryphal stories and relaying unreliable accounts of the miraculous. In dealing with the contentions of heretics they must not confuse their

[7] Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Paris, 1902), XXXIV, columns 8 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, col. 1291.

[9] *Ibid.*, col. 1399.

[10] Bishop William J. Hafey of Raleigh adopted a similar measure at a time when there was much discussion about the standard of preaching. Cf. AER, XCII (July, 1934), 71.

congregations with long and involved arguments, but rely on a clear and well-established explanation of Catholic doctrine itself to dissipate the objections brought against it. Above all, they must avoid ostentation of learning and eloquence, and should not aim to preach themselves but to preach Jesus Christ.

In these instructions we can hear the echo of the discussions at Trent, point for point and sometimes phrase for phrase. They were direct and detailed and had an immediate influence, since the acts of this First Provincial Synod of Milan were in no time spread throughout Christendom. They were a good beginning for the preaching reform which Saint Charles was about to effect throughout his huge Archdiocese. But, regarding preaching reform, the work of the First Milanese Synod in 1565 and of the Second in 1569 were only preliminary to the great work published after the Third Provincial Synod of Milan in 1575, the *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei.*

These *Instructions on Preaching* given out by Saint Charles in 1575 are a remarkable statement of homiletic principle and could well form the basis of a complete homiletic theory. Father Heuser, founder and first editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review,* even suggested that "with few modifications or in the hands of a practical teacher this book would make an admirable text for our seminarists."[11] In the edition of the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* brought out by Pope Pius XI, the *Instructiones* take forty columns.[12] They are divided into twenty chapters of uneven length and in broad outline follow the fivefold canon of classical rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. The first nine chapters deal with the preacher's office, motivation, knowledge, virtue, and general and special preparation for preaching. The next seven analyze the material to be used in sermons. The final four chapters are a succinct treatment of sermon arrangement, style, and delivery, with Chapter Eighteen applying to preaching the principle of audience analysis and adaptation under the contemporary term of *decorum.* The fully classical framework of the

[11] Herman J. Heuser, "Saint Charles Borromeo as a Preacher," AER, VII, 5 (November, 1892), 335.

[12] Achille Ratti (Pope Pius XI; ed.), *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Milan, 1890), II, columns 1207-1248. There is no record of an English translation of the *Instructiones.*

Instructiones is not, of course, surprising in the light of the sixteenth century reaction to the Renaissance obsession with style alone.[13] While Saint Charles was compiling the *Instructiones,* the fully classical homiletic textbooks of the famous Dominican Luis of Granada and of Cardinal Valerius were already beginning their long careers of popularity, both of them, significantly, having been prepared at the insistence and with the frequent comment and advice of Saint Charles himself, who needed such texts for his seminaries.[14]

Among the first nine chapters of the *Instructiones* the third and sixth are especially noteworthy. Chapter Three is on "The Preacher's Knowledge" and makes demands as large as Cicero's, whose orator must take all knowledge as his province.[15] More significant among these demands than the array of theological knowledge and other areas of study they prescribe is the demand that the preacher have a store of illustrations and comparisons drawn from the life and daily activity of whatever audience he is talking to. There are city people and country people, says Saint Charles, nobles and commoners, men in public and men in private life, the educated and the unlettered masses. For all of them the preacher must find the specifically suitable means of illustrating and exemplifying his doctrine, for men are much more easily led by comparisons drawn from their own daily lives and occupations than by those taken from life and art in general. In preaching to

[13] Charles Sears Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice,* ed. Donald Lemen Clark (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 53-64.

[14] Luis de Granada, O.P., *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae sive de Ratione Concionandi Libri Sex;* Augustinus Valerius, *De Rhetorica Ecclesiastica sive Modo Concionandi Libri Tres.* These two works, sometimes published in the same volume, and Didacus de Estella, *De Ratione Concionandi sive Rhetorica Ecclesiastica,* were standard homiletic textbooks from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. They have never been translated into English, nor has their content ever been tapped in contemporary Catholic homiletic literature. Editions are found in Chicago University Library, Harvard College Library, and the library of Louisiana State University.

[15] Saint Charles makes such broad demands that a reader may find consolation in the words of Saint Francis de Sales in his letter to André Frémiot: "Ad doctrinam quod attinet, sufficientem esse oportet, non item excellentem. . . . Aetate nostra sanctus ille cardinalis Borromaeus nonnisi admodum mediocri erat scientia, et mirabilia tamen praestitit."—*Oeuvres Completes,* ed. Migne (Paris, 1861), IV, column 649.

farmers, for example, the preacher should talk about fields and vineyards, the sun and moon, sowing and harvest, trees and roots and other aspects of farm life. He should also choose what to say about his subject by considering the capacity of his listeners, not saying everything he knows about it, but saying this to one and that to another, as their needs and condition indicate. Most of all, he should recognize that the essence of his preaching effort, the goal of all his energy, must be to move the hearts of his hearers, for men do not sin because they do not know the truth but because their hearts are led astray. As the blood is present in all the members of the body, therefore, so must the preacher have in every part of his sermon material calculated to stir the emotions and change the hearts of his congregation.

Chapter Six is on "How the Preacher Should Prepare Himself for Each Sermon." It is a study in the psychology of persuasion. To prepare himself for preaching the sacred orator not only must put himself into the best frame of mind, knowing clearly what he intends to say, but must work up a certain ardor of conviction about it. He must meditate on each part of the sermon again and again, trying to generate in himself the sentiments and convictions which he hopes to induce in his hearers. This he can do first of all by earnest prayer, keeping before him the image of Christ on the cross, or, following Saint Chrysostom's custom, the image of Saint Paul preaching. Then he must deepen his knowledge of what he intends to talk about, holding vividly in mind the very matter of his discourse, so to speak, while he reads attentively the parts of Holy Scripture that correspond to it. He should not hope to gain conviction and intensity of feeling by reading the sermons of others; he must find his resources in himself. The night before he is to preach, he should pray more earnestly than ever for the grace to move his hearers, and may well add efficacy to his prayer by bodily mortification. When the time for the sermon finally comes, before ascending the pulpit he should try to picture his audience as a multitude starving for the bread of doctrine, as a throng of the spiritually lame and blind, deaf and mute, possessed and leprous, all seeking to be cured by his words. He should also think of himself as a fisher of men, who must ply the net of the Gospel skillfully to gather unto Christ the souls of those who are perishing. In this way, concludes Saint Charles, he will never grow languid in preaching.

These first nine chapters, on the preacher, and the following seven, on his material, show an understanding of homiletic invention much broader than is usually encountered. Without using the word *ethos,* Aristotle's term for the element in persuasion that depends on the speaker's own character, competence, and conviction, Saint Charles gives a treatment of it perhaps unsurpassed in homiletic literature. Without mentioning Plato's challenge that to write a genuine rhetoric a man must be a physician of souls and know exactly the ailments of his hearers and the specific remedies for them, Saint Charles proceeds in chapters nine to sixteen to analyze the vices and virtues of his people and the manner in which the preacher can best lead them to make use of the sacraments and to fill their daily lives with religious observances and works of piety. Again and again he insists that the preacher must know his congregation intimately and profoundly. An itinerant preacher who comes to a new assignment must get from the bishop and pastor of the place as much information as he can about the locality and its inhabitants, so that he can adapt his sermons exactly to their needs. The same theme returns in Chapter Eighteen, where Saint Charles comments wryly that nothing can be more inept or absurd than for the preacher to come into a poor village where the people are suffering from hunger and cold and then inveigh in his sermons against sumptuous banquets and luxurious clothes of which these people do not even dream, or, again, to explain to such an audience in minute detail the force of the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic terms in an interpretation of a Scripture text. With a highly educated audience, on the other hand, Saint Charles wants the preacher to muster all his erudition and give the most exact and scientific interpretation of the Scriptures of which he is capable. On hardened sinners let him come down hard, if need be, even to the extent of imitating St. Paul's vigorous expressions, "mendaces Cretenses, malae bestiae, ventres pigri."[16] But with people who are trying to do what is right let him be mild and gentle, like the rooster who in the middle of the night when men are sound asleep crows harshly, but crows sweetly toward daybreak when men are sleeping less soundly and beginning to awaken.

In Chapter Seventeen, "On What Pertains to the Form of the Sermon," Saint Charles takes up *dispositio,* or oratorical arrange-

[16] *Tit.,* 1:12.

ment. He had already touched upon it in Chapter Three, where he says that while knowledge of the rules of rhetoric is secondary to full knowledge of subject matter and audience, it is hardly less important. From works of rhetoric the preacher should learn how to compose his exordium or introduction, avoiding the involved exordia of the time, and how to arrange the rest of his material. He should cultivate the techniques of clear and lucid narration, as well as skill in voice and action. He should study the weight and force of words that will cut into the minds of his audience.

After this general comment in Chapter Three, Saint Charles gets down to particulars in Chapters Seventeen, Nineteen, and Twenty. As far as the nature of his topic or of the Gospel pericope permits, the preacher must arrange his material in such a way that none of the oratorical parts of a sermon will be lacking, especially parts that deal more particularly with moving and stirring an audience. He should divide his material clearly so that the listeners will grasp it more easily and remember it more clearly, with correspondingly more spiritual profit. As for style, it is to no purpose to look for literary words and excessively elaborated phrases; real spiritual profit will come from a style freighted with the gravity of sacred doctrine and a learning that is really Christian and profitable to salvation. Not that the preacher should go to the other extreme, however, and adopt the language of the uneducated, for there is much in their manner of expressing themselves that is absurd and much that is unworthy of the dignity of the pulpit. Terms like Fate and Fortune and Bad Luck should not be used, since they do not accord with the doctrine of the Church. Nor should the preacher's style be full of poetic passages, or old wives' proverbs, or long series of synonyms, or unsuitable exclamations. His metaphors and similies should be taken from well-known and impressive objects, since the man who always takes his similies from lowly objects detracts from the dignity of discourse. Finally, in committing his material to memory the preacher should not plan a memory exhibition, which would be the case if he gave from memory long lists of quotations or a large array of detailed facts.

Chapter Twenty is on delivery, "De Voce et Corporis Motu." While the rhetoricians of antiquity have written exhaustively about matters of pronunciation, gesture, and action, it is unworthy

of the preacher of God's word, says Saint Charles, to study these matters in such exquisite detail that they themselves seem to become the end and purpose of preaching. Anyway, he says, much of this theory is downright puerile and theatrical. But it would be wrong, on the other hand, to neglect those elements of delivery which are really helpful and worthy of the pulpit. The preacher should cull out of rhetorical theory those things that will really aid him in persuading his listeners. He should, for instance, vary his voice and gesture to accord with the intrinsic variety in his material, not foolishly making a lot out of a mediocre or insignificant point, as if he hoped to persuade his congregation by sheer volume and vigorous gesture, and not, at the other extreme, slighting important points by seeming to recite them rather than to speak them from the heart. He should avoid the monotony caused by employing throughout his sermon the same voice, the same gesture, and the same facial expression. His delivery should not be painfully slow, as if he could not find the words he wanted, or very rapid, since what is delivered too rapidly passes right over the heads of the audience without making any impression. He must therefore speak slowly in some passages and rapidly in others, according to the nature of what he is saying. In his introduction he will usually be quiet, using a voice as near as possible to the speech of everyday life. In narration, he will vary his voice to correspond to what he is describing, a rapid voice for strenuous deeds, a full and sonorous voice for matters connoting dignity. In his peroration, where the purpose is especially to exhort the congregation and move them deeply, the preacher will make the most skillful use of his voice, with changes in volume, frequent pauses, and great inflections.

In a work which is part of the legislation of a large archdiocese, these fine details on preaching are examples of Saint Charles Borromeo's penchant for the concrete. In a series of seventeen *Don'ts* with which he concludes the Twentieth Chapter and the whole tract, he asks his preachers not to lean in the pulpit, not to tilt their heads, knit their brows, wrinkle or pull their noses or turn them back with the full palm of the hand, not to lick or bite their lips, not to pull their chins in too far, or hunch their shoulders, or put their arms out too far or gesture with the left hand, not to snap their fingers or slap their thighs for emphasis, not to talk through their nose, not to breathe too noisily, and, unless

they couldn't help it, not to spit too often in the pulpit. The *Don'ts* are themselves a commentary on the times.

This summary of the *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei* gives some picture of its content and spirit. Its great value can be understood in the light of the decadent preaching of the day, the abuses of which it attacks systematically, and in the light of the restoration of the serious and manly tradition of classical rhetoric as opposed to the shallow Ciceronianism of the majority of humanists, who concentrated almost exclusively on graceful style. From other sources we know that the *Instructiones* had great vogue as part of the *Acts of the Church of Milan,* which upon their publication came into use everywhere as handbooks for the local Councils that met frequently in the latter part of the sixteenth century.[17] Immediately upon their publication by Saint Charles in 1582, for instance, a hundred copies were sent to Lyons, ten more copies to the Cardinal of Toledo, and more copies elsewhere. Saint Francis de Sales even wrote in 1603 that no bishop could get along without the *Acts of the Church of Milan.* Besides this general esteem which they shared as part of the corpus of Milanese legislation, the *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei* were appreciated in their own right, being reprinted several times by French bishops for the use of their clergy.[18] No one at this date can fully estimate, and perhaps it would be hard to exaggerate, the influence which these instructions in homiletic theory must have had in combatting the false homiletic ideals that had exercised the Fathers at the Council of Trent. In this as in so many other matters, as Pastor says, the legislation of Saint Charles was the working out into detail of the principles laid down in the great Tridentine reform.[19]

The re-statement of the homiletic ideal in the *Instructiones* was supremely important, but if the reform of preaching was to be thorough and permanent, steps had to be taken in the newly erected seminaries to train the future clergy according to that ideal. Correlative to the *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei,*

[17] Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes,* ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London, 1930), XIX, 83 ff.

[18] Heuser, *loc. cit.*

[19] Pastor, *loc. cit.:* "What had been indicated on broad lines in the Tridentine laws was developed down to the smallest detail in the ordinances of Borromeo, but with so great a grasp of what was necessary and practicable as to arouse general admiration."

therefore, is another document of Saint Charles entitled, *Institutiones Seminarii,* in which the experience of many years and the advice of the best educators of the day was crystallized in regulations for the administration of the Milanese seminary system.[20] In the curriculum for the seminary as outlined by Saint Charles, training for the pulpit stands out clearly as an essential aim.

The early years consisted of the familiar trivium of Grammar, Humanities, and Rhetoric, taken consecutively. Upon the proficiency and aptitude demonstrated in the courses of Grammar and Humanities, which were taken by all, depended the seminarian's future schedule. One of the chief tests of his proficiency was his ability to express himself in written and oral composition. In the higher of the two divisions of the Humanities course he was drilled in chrias, character sketches, and similar rhetorical assignments. In the latter part of this course he was introduced to rhetoric in the classical tradition through the text of the Jesuit, Cyprian Soarez, a revision of which had just been published in Venice in 1565, and which was destined to be the schoolboy's primer in rhetoric for the next two centuries and more.

The Rhetoric course was the parting of the ways, none being allowed to take it who had shown no aptitude for it in the lower classes. The professor of rhetoric was always to have in mind that he was training these seminarians for the pulpit, and for this reason should take with them also the sermons of Saint Cyprian and Saint Chrysostom and/or the *De Officiis* of Saint Ambrose. On a basis of age, ability, and achievement, the seminarians were then channelled in to one of two courses: the longer speculative course with its scholastic philosophy and theology, or the shorter practical course, consisting of two years of intensive training in "Casus, Catechism, Holy Scripture, and Sacred Eloquence."[21] In addition to the course in Sacred Eloquence itself, the seminarians received pulpit training in the Scripture course, since the

[20] Achille Ratti (Pope Pius XI), *op. cit.,* Vol. III. See also, for his annotations to the seminary institutes, Markus Siebengartner, *Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1902). There is no record of an English translation of the *Institutiones.*

[21] These four branches seem to be Saint Charles's interpretation of the Tridentine phrases: "Sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical books (Catechism), the homilies of the saints (Sacred Eloquence), and the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things that seem adapted to the hearing of confessions (Casus)."

professor of Sacred Scripture was explicitly instructed not to teach his material in a speculative way, but to keep in mind the precepts of the course in Sacred Eloquence, and in accordance with these precepts show the seminarians how to use Holy Scripture in their preaching.

Besides the major role thus given to homiletics in the curriculum, there was abundant extra-curricular activity in practice preaching. On feastdays and at least three other days in the week, even when men in high position came to visit the seminary, the clerics were to give a sermon from the pulpit in the refectory, every one in his turn with no exceptions. For these practice sermons the prefect of studies prescribed the subject and gave individual help to the seminarians in gathering material, arranging the sermon, and practicing for delivery. A seminarian's first refectory sermons would deal with some virtue or fault or some short selection from Holy Scripture. After some progress, he would be expected to preach on the Gospel of the day. Those who proved themselves specially gifted were to be sent by the seminary rector, after consultation with the prefect of studies, to the bishop's palace to preach for him and his guests on feastdays and during the visits of dignitaries.

In this intensive homiletic training, practicality is an essential principle. Saint Charles observes that the pressure of parish activity is not going to allow the seminarians in their future ministry to spend long days preparing their sermons. They should therefore practice now in such a way that resting upon the work of these seminary years as a foundation they may be able to speak later on with shorter preparation. For this reason they are now to write out their sermons word for word, although later they will only write an outline. They shall be given as subjects for practice preaching the Gospel pericopes that fall on the Sundays and feastdays of the year. In treating of these they shall be required above all to understand thoroughly the literal sense of the passage, and to have at hand some moral conclusion based upon it. In all their sermons they shall not aim at elegance of language, but at the content and thought of the sermon, which should deal mostly with moral instruction.

Just as the *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei* published by Saint Charles in 1575 were reprinted by French bishops for their

clergy, so his seminary *Institutiones* passed into the legislation of future Councils in France when they took up the task of establishing the diocesan seminaries decreed at Trent. In 1583 the Council of Bordeaux, which had great influence on the seminary movement in France, decreed that the seminarians were to preach at the evening meal and even at the noon meal as well, and the more proficient were to be sent by the bishop on feastdays to different parishes to preach, so that, in the words of the Council, while providing instruction for the people they might also provide practice for themselves.[22] A few years later, in 1586, the Council of Cambrai required that the seminarians get practice in preaching both among themselves in the seminary and abroad among the people. Added to this would be weekly disputations in the seminary, with one of the prefects presiding as chairman, to inspire emulation in study.[23] The Council of Toulouse in 1590 decreed that the seminarians should give practice sermons among themselves just as they would deliver them to the people.[24]

We can feel confident that we are not falling into the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy in asserting that the emphasis given to homiletics in the form of practice preaching in seminaries of seventeenth century France, continuing down to our own times, is in large part the result of the work of Saint Charles Borromeo. There were other factors to be sure, such as the preaching reform during the Catholic revival in France in which the *major seminaries* themselves were born, but an impressive array of circumstantial evidence points always to the influence of Saint Charles. In addition to such facts as the universal esteem for the almost legendary Archbishop of Milan, the world renown of his seminaries, and the wide dissemination of his publications, there is the very significant fact that in the very year in which M. Olier established the seminary of Saint Sulpice, in 1642, this founder of a company of seminary educators which would spread its influence from France to America was busy with the fourth edition of the *Acts of the Church of Milan* which would appear in Paris the following year.[25]

In summary we can say that Saint Charles Borromeo has a clear title to be considered an outstanding figure in modern times

[22] Mansi, XXXIV, 800.
[23] *Ibid.*, 1257.
[24] *Ibid.*, 1298.
[25] Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

for his work in homiletic theory and training, and that that work is the authentic expression of the aims of the Tridentine reform and as such is a main tributary to the stream of Catholic homiletic tradition.

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FIFTY YEARS AGO

The leading article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for January, 1908, entitled "Modernism in the Church in America," is anonymous, though very probably it was written by the editor, Fr. Heuser. It was occasioned by the condemnation of Modernism by Pope St. Pius X a few months previously. The writer very emphatically asserts that the spirit of Modernism is to be found in an alarming degree in the United States. "It is our frank opinion that the evils of which the Pontiff chiefly complains exist to a very large and dangerous extent in the United States". . . . An article entitled "Ritualists and 'Catholic Consent,'" concerned with the status of the "High Church party" in the Church of England, is contributed by an English priest, Fr. H. P. Russell. . . . The first instalment of a series of articles on the Abbé de Rancé, who instituted the Cistercian reform in the seventeenth century, from the pen of Fr. R. F. O'Connor, of Cork, Ireland, appears in this issue. . . . F. W. B. Hannon narrates the history of the church and parish of St. Thomas, Wilmington, North Carolina, under the title "An Historic Church in our Southland." This church was the cathedral of Bishop (later Cardinal) Gibbons while he was Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina. One of the most famous pastors was Dr. James Corcoran, who later served as one of the theologians of the Vatican Council. . . . Dom H. P. Feasey, O.S.B., writes on "Carols and Carol Singing" as a part of the Christmas celebration of olden days. . . . A correspondent signing himself "Scholasticus" complains of the question-answer method of teaching religion as employed in the Catechism, and asserts that it is pedagogically unsound. . . . The editor reports that he had submitted a liturgical question concerning the Christmas Masses to the Congregation of Rites, and had received by cable the response that the three consecutive Masses permitted in seminaries or religious institutions beginning with midnight may be either low or high Masses.

F.J.C.

EXTENT OF THE OBLIGATION TO CONSERVE THE RACE

The Holy Father's allocution of October 29, 1951, to Italian midwives clarified a point till then controverted. It had been disputed whether the obligation of propagating the race falls on individual couples or just on the race generally. The allocution made it clear that such couples as elect to use their marital rights are obliged to accept the fruit of such activity.

Once this important general question had been answered, it was but natural that theologians should direct their inquiry to the extent of this obligation.

Rather tentatively, the opinion was advanced by Fr. Gerald Kelly, S.J., writing in *America* for May 3, 1952, that a couple would have acquitted themselves of this obligation once they had begotten that number of children which, if attained by all couples who could do so, would suffice to advance the race somewhat beyond its numerical level at any given time. Just what this number would be is left to be determined by those best qualified to do so. Father Kelly suggested the number four or five without insisting on it.

Writing in the Jan., 1952, issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* Father Connell expressed the view that it would be gravely sinful for a couple to practice rhythm for a considerable space of time without any serious justifying cause. This period he estimates as more than five years. In the Aug., 1952, issue of the same periodical, Father Connell specifically takes up Father Kelly's opinion and after discussion concludes: "I am of the opinion, therefore, that the divinely imposed obligation to procreate remains unmodified, even when a couple have had seven or eight children, presuming that they wish to make use of their rights, and have no serious reason for not having children."

Father McCarthy, writing in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for June, 1952, regards as gravely sinful the total avoidance of children without grave excusing causes by a couple who make frequent use of marriage for a long time—say several years. This conclusion he bases on: (1) the obligation to contribute to the race; (2) the right order of the ends of marriage. But if a couple has two or even one child then even though there be no serious justifying reason for

the practice of rhythm, he "hesitated to describe the exclusive use of sterile periods in the circumstances as gravely sinful in itself."[1]

Father Hürth, writing in *Periodica* for December, 1951, maintains that because there is an affirmative obligation to promote the primary end of the marital state those who make full use of their marital rights must have grave reasons for the habitual use of rhythm if they are to be free of sin. And this sin can be grave at times. He does not specifically discuss the case of those who already have some children.

Fr. Edwin F. Healy, S.J., in his recently published *Medical Ethics,* says that for a childless couple to employ rhythm throughout the entire period of their married life without an excusing cause would appear to be gravely sinful. He regards this as at present common teaching. He considers, however, that if a couple already have three or more children they have already sufficiently fulfilled their obligation to propagate the race. "Hence for them the use of rhythm would in itself be lawful. If, however, they do not have any reasonable cause for their desire to prevent the birth of more children, the practice of rhythm would usually involve venial sin because of the slightly sinful motive (for example, selfishness, avarice)."[2]

Another recent publication, *Fundamental Marriage Counseling,* by Dr. John Cavanagh, contains the statement that Father Kelly's opinion that a couple acquit themselves of their duty to conserve the race by having four or five children "is very vaguely grounded in ethics. There is no other theologian I know of who holds this doctrine. 'Duties toward society' are never evaluated quantitatively, except in the case of property, and then only on principles of contract law. There is no analogy in this connection."[3]

In his *Morals in Medicine,* Fr. Thomas J. O'Donnell, S.J., says: "Those couples who have already had several children would certainly not seem to be guilty of serious sin even if they practiced rhythm for a long time without a serious reason; and guilty of no sin if they did so for a reasonable cause."[4]

[1] *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* Nov., 1952.

[2] *Medical Ethics* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1956), p. 166.

[3] *Fundamental Marriage Counseling* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1957), p. 282.

[4] *Morals and Medicine* (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1956), pp. 207 f.

Most recently Fr. John L. Thomas, S.J., in his *Marriage and Rhythm,* says, "It is logical to conclude, therefore, that couples who rear sufficient children to provide for the maintenance and reasonable growth of the population . . . have reasonably fulfilled their obligation 'to provide for the conservation of the human race.' "[5] Accordingly, as far as this obligation to procreate is concerned, he considers that a couple may postpone having children and may likewise space their contribution to the race through the period of fertility.[6]

In *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* for June, 1957, Msgr. L. J. Riley indicates as existing theological opinions regarding mortal sin in rhythm: (1) the five year norm; (2) a minority view that there is no certain mortal sin; (3) the opinion that allows rhythm after a couple has contributed their share to the race. He continues:

> Can we come to some conclusion on this point? Personally, I should subscribe to the view of those theologians who teach that the prolonged practice of periodic continence without a serious reason is a mortal sin. If it is "against the very meaning of conjugal life!" as the Pope has described it, it is difficult to see how it is not a mortal sin (i.e., the prolonged practice of periodic continence without a serious reason). Yet, in view of the fact that the opposite opinion enjoys at least extrinsic probability, I could not in conscience insist upon the stricter opinion in confession, i.e., I could not deny absolution to a penitent who intends to continue the habitual practice of periodic continence, even without a serious reason.[7]

From this sampling of current opinion one can discern a quite general tendency to recognize that rhythm can be gravely sinful. Authors see this indicated especially in the following passage from the papal allocution to Italian midwives: "Therefore, to embrace the married state, continuously to make use of the faculty proper to it and lawful in it alone, and, on the other hand, to withdraw always and deliberately with no serious reason from its primary obligation, would be a sin against the very meaning of conjugal life."[8]

[5] *Marriage and Rhythm* (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1957), p. 117.
[6] Cf. *ibid.,* pp. 120 f.
[7] *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* for June, 1957, p. 824.
[8] *NCWC* translation, p. 14.

It appears also that the opinion of Father Kelly that the obligation to beget children is mensurable by the average contribution requisite to maintain and somewhat increase the race had met a widely varied reception.

As I intend to discuss this opinion, it will serve clarity to quote directly from Father Kelly's expression of it in the *Linacre Quarterly*. There we read:

"The problem, therefore, concerns merely the duty; and specifically the duty of 'providing for the conservation of the human race.' Is this duty limited only by the excusing causes mentioned by the Pope; or is it, independently of these causes, limited to the making of a *reasonable* or *average* contribution to the preservation of the race?"[9]

Father Kelly concedes that if only the *words* of the Pope were taken into consideration one might argue that the duty is limited only by the excusing causes; he continues:

"On the other hand, if the duty to procreate is considered in the light of similar obligations toward society, as well as toward one's neighbor, it is in itself limited. It would bind each couple to make an ordinary, or average, contribution in terms of the population needs. This would mean that every fertile couple that chooses to use their marriage rights would have a family of perhaps four or five children, if they can, because that seems to be approximately the number required of each couple in order to make proper provision for population needs."[10]

Father Kelly favors this second interpretation. I submit the following two considerations as weighing against this opinion:

(1) Conserving the race clearly pertains to the common good. The obligation to do so is therefore evidently within the sphere of legal justice which directs the acts of all virtues to the common good.[11] This obligation is measured by distributive justice to which pertain both dispensing the goods of the community to the individual members and apportioning burdens among the members.[12]

[9] *Linacre Quarterly* for May, 1952, p. 43.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] St. Thomas, *Summa theologica,* IIa-IIae, q. 58, a. 5.

[12] Cf. Ubach, *Compendium theologiae moralis,* I, n. 222; Vermeersch, *Theologia moralis,* II, n. 350.

Now, in contrast to commutative justice, whose mean is an arithmetic equality, the mean of distributive justice is a geometric proportion.[13] Distributive justice seeks to maintain throughout a community a uniformity of the ratio of merit and of goods received as well as of capacity and burden imposed.[14] Thus the more distinctive honors and rewards are rendered to the more outstanding public servants; heavier taxes are imposed on those with larger incomes.[15]

This geometric proportion which is the mean of distributive justice can be expressed in connection with the obligation to conserve the race in the following manner. The contribution exacted of any given couple will bear a relationship to the capacity of that couple and this relationship will be constant throughout the entire group of couples. The resultant number of children demanded of various couples, since this is determined by the varying capacities of the divers couples, will itself vary considerably. One variable factor greatly affecting the capacity to have children is youthfulness. Since men live in a time dimension sheer temporal duration of the period of available fertility directly affects reproductive capacity. Thus, other things being equal, the twenty-year-old bride and groom with almost all their fertile years before them have a much greater capacity for reproduction than the thirty-five-year-old newlyweds, about two-thirds of whose fertile years lie behind them unused and at that time presumably morally not usable. The contribution required of each of these couples should vary accordingly in order that the rational measure of distributive justice be maintained.

(2) Generation as an end of the marital act exacts more of it than merely that no act be intrinsically perverted. Even if every marital act in a series were performed naturally as an individual act, the total series would not promote generation at all if all the acts took place during the sterile period. Generation as an end can therefore clearly be seen to make certain powerful demands with respect to the moral circumstance of time regarding a series of marital acts. At the very least this end, generation of children, puts very great restrictions on the practice of rhythm. Can we go further and say that its force as an end makes it clear that the

[13] Cf. St. Thomas, *op. cit.*, IIa-IIae, q. 61, a. 2.
[14] Cf. *ibid.*
[15] Cf. Monsignor John A. Ryan, *Distributive Justice*, p. 98.

natural law prohibits rhythm as per se evil but per accidens permissible—i.e., ordinarily wrong but licit when a grave cause exists excusing a couple from the law requiring the furtherance of generation? This seems strongly suggested, if not unmistakably indicated in this statement of the Holy Father in His discourse to midwives:

"But this act is completely subordinated to and ordered in accordance with the sole great law *'generatio et educatio prolis,'* the fulfilling of the primary end of matrimony as the origin and source of life."[16]

This passage indicates that the primary end of marriage is supposed to dominate the marital act *completely*. Now, the way that an end dominates acts is by exacting of them service such as will further it, the end. An end is a good for the sake of which something is done. It does not seem ordinarily sufficient to safeguard the *complete* domination of the act by the end merely to require that the individual acts be not intrinsically perverted. This would leave the timing of the acts outside the domination of the end. But by proper timing of all acts it is possible to deprive them of their efficacity to further the end. Acts so timed—i.e., a series of acts arranged to take place *exclusively* in the non-fertile period—could not ordinarily be said to be fully ordered to the end which actually they do not promote. In cases where grave excuses exist to exempt the agents from the positive domination of the end to further it, it is enough that they merely refrain from any perversion intrinsic to the act. But where no such grave reasons exist, the rhythm schedule seems to defeat the *total* subservience of marital acts to primary end indicated in the passage of the Pope's allocution which I have just quoted.

It might be objected that I appear to be arguing from the fact that *invariable* adherence to rhythm would *totally* defeat generation to the immediate conclusion that generation as an end excludes *any rhythm* whatever, apart from grave excusing causes. My true purpose in drawing attention to the fact that *total* and unceasing rhythm means no children is to point up the deleterious influence of rhythm on the positive subordination of the acts to generation. As total rhythm totally defeats generation, so limited rhythm to that

[16] *NCWC* translation, p. 22.

extent cuts down generation. This diminution of generation is the reason why there appears to me to be an inconsistency between the *entire* subordination of act to end insisted upon by the Pope and a rhythm schedule that is followed even for a limited period, apart from special excusing causes exempting the agents from the affirmative law to further generation. (This law is itself a means instituted by God to safeguard the end, generation.) An unexcused program designed to deprive even a limited series of acts of their efficacy to further generation seems incompatible with the acts being "completely subordinated to and ordered in accordance with the sole great law *'generatio et educatio prolis.'* "

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THE APPARITIONS AT LOURDES– A SUPPLEMENT

The article on the apparitions of Our Lady at Lourdes, in the August, 1957, number of *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* was already in press when the writer learned of two excellent books, published in France in 1953 and 1955, which corroborated his calendar of the eighteen apparitions except the date of the seventeenth. Both authors entertain no doubt whatever that this apparition occurred on April 7, 1858—not on April 5; and both are so thoroughly reliable in regard to the dates of the apparitions, that we hasten to request the readers of this review to substitute April 7, Wednesday of Easter Week in 1858, for April 5, Easter Monday, on pages 77 and 86 of *AER,* August, 1957.

The two works in question are *Bernadette et Lourdes*[1] by Michel de Saint-Pierre and *Sens de Lourdes*[2] by René Laurentin. The first, a book of some 250 pages, presents a complete as well as readable account of the happenings at Lourdes. A good English translation, first published in 1954, is available also in pocket-book form since 1955.[3] In our opinion, it is the most accurate historical work on Lourdes that has thus far appeared in the English language. The second is even more important and definitive; and it corrects the first in regard to the time when certain words addressed by Our Lady to Bernadette were spoken. It is a fuller development of a scholarly and pregnant essay presented at the International Marian Congress of 1954 in Rome. This essay is followed by two appendices of exceptional value.

In regard to the seventeenth apparition, it was Father Fourcade, Secretary of the Episcopal Commission of Enquiry, who dated it April 5.[4] However, Laurentin says definitely that Fourcade's

[1] Michel de Saint-Pierre, *Bernadette et Lourdes* (Paris: Éditions de Table Ronde, 1953).

[2] René Laurentin, *Sens de Lourdes* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1955).

[3] The translation, entitled *Bernardette and Lourdes,* was made by Edward Fitzgerald and published, in 1954, by Farrar, Strauss and Young. It was republished as a pocket sized book the following year by Image Books. References to this work in this article will indicate the Image Book edition.

[4] *L'Apparition de la grotte de Lourdes* (Tarbes, 1862), p. 22.

otherwise excellent work is in error, and the date should be April 7. Dr. Bertrin, therefore, seems to be correct in this instance; and the explanation we suggested for what we supposed to be an error in our earlier article should be deleted. Incidentally, there is also an English translation of Dr. Bertrin's work, published in 1908.[5]

The reason why the exact dates of some of the apparitions have presented a problem to historians is the fact that Bernadette paid little heed to these dates. The apparitions themselves as well as the words spoken by Our Lady were indelibly imprinted on her memory. However, in one of her four written descriptions, given by Saint-Pierre,[6] she mentions only the date of the first apparition, February 11. Elsewhere she indicates merely the day of the week on which some of the others took place.

Even Father Cros, who gathered material on Lourdes over a period of thirty-five years maintained that February 22 was the only day during the fifteen-day period on which there was no apparition; and thus he had to admit a nineteenth apparition on July 16, although he tried to retain the total of eighteen, in a sense, by calling the last one merely an epilogue and farewell which was added to the rest. Laurentin demonstrates that Father Cros and those writers who accepted his dates are mistaken.[7] A very lucid and interesting table of the apparitions is contained in Laurentin's book, showing that the first two apparitions were a prologue and the last two an epilogue, and only in the fourteen which occurred February 18 to March 25 inclusively did Our Lady speak to Bernadette, as far as we know.

While the dates of the apparitions can now be said to have been definitely established, the same can not be said of the time when Our Lady gave some of her recorded messages to Bernadette. Laurentin offers a masterful critical study of the original words spoken by Our Lady, at the several apparitions, in the patois used by Bernadette.[8] The following are the brief statements and messages of Our Lady, according to Bernadette's testimony, together with their dates as far as they can be ascertained:

[5] *Lourdes, a History of its Apparitions and Cures* (New York: Benziger, 1908).

[6] Cf. *Bernardette and Lourdes,* pp. 251-56.

[7] Cf. *op. cit.,* pp. 24-35.

[8] Cf. *ibid.,* pp. 116-34.

(1) "It is not necessary" (that I write down what I have to say to you).—February 18.

(2) "Will you have the kindness to come here during fifteen days?"—February 18.

(3) "I do not promise to make you happy (or: that you will be happy) in this world, but in the next."—February 18.

(4) "Pray to God for sinners!"—February 21?

(5) "Penitence! Penitence! Penitence!"—February 23 or 24?

(6) "Go and drink at the spring and wash yourself there."—February 25.

(7) "Go and eat of the herb which is there (or: which you will find there)."—February 25.

(8) "Go and kiss the ground in penitence for the sinners."—February 25 and 27.

(9) "Go and tell the priests to have a chapel built here."—March 2 and the following days.

(10) A request for processions.—March 2.

(11) "I forbid you to tell this to any person." These words referred to three secrets which Our Lady communicated to Bernadette.—The dates are uncertain.

(12) "I am the Immaculate Conception."—March 25. Various authors have variant spellings of these words in the dialect in which they were spoken; but Laurentin assures us that the only correct form is the following: "Que soy era Immaculade Conceptiou."

According to reliable witnesses, other than Bernadette, Our Lady made three other statements, the exact wording of which is not known. These and their dates are as follows:

(1) Our Lady said that Antoinette Peyret and Madam Millet, the companions of Bernadette, could remain.—February 18.

(2) Our Lady told Bernadette to use her own rosary instead of the one belonging to Pauline Sans which she was holding in her hand.—March 1.

(3) Our Lady explained to Bernadette why she did not appear in the morning on this day.—March 3.

For additional words spoken by Our Lady according to other witnesses, satisfactory proof is lacking. And still other words which Our Lady did say are not recorded.

Just which apparition was the one at which Our Lady spoke the words instructing Bernadette to tell the priests to have a chapel built at the grotto and to conduct processions there, has been a particularly knotty problem for historians. Both Saint-Pierre and Laurentin devote a special appendix to this question. Lassere says these words were spoken on February 23, Estrade on February 27, and Father Cros on March 2.[9] In our previous article we gave the dates February 23 and March 2, as two occasions when the words were spoken. Saint-Pierre adds February 18, and tries to solve the problem by pointing out that, according to Bernadette herself, Our Lady spoke the same words on several different occasions.[10] Laurentin rejects this explanation as being too simple, and arrives at the conclusion that only on March 2 were the words of Our Lady concerning a chapel and processions spoken, and during the subsequent days instructions about the building of a chapel were repeated.[11]

In one of her written descriptions of the apparitions,[12] Bernadette seems to say (at least that is the interpretation which has hitherto been given to her words), that on February 18 Our Lady spoke, not only Words 1, 2, and 3, but also Words 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11. It is for this reason that Saint-Pierre dates the words concerning a chapel and the spring as having been spoken on February 18 as well as subsequent days. Other historians are forced to admit that Bernadette made numerous mistakes in this description.

To our mind, Bernadette merely enumerates various statements and messages spoken to her by Our Lady on different occasions. That there are good reasons for holding such an opinion will become evident if we quote her words and add our interpretation in parentheses:

. . . That was the first time. That was on Thursday, February 11, 1858. The second time was the following Sunday. . . .

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[9] Cf. *Bernardette and Lourdes,* p. 260.
[10] Cf. *ibid.,* pp. 260 ff.
[11] Cf. *op. cit.,* pp. 136-40.
[12] Cf. *Bernardette and Lourdes,* pp. 252 f.

The third time was on the following Thursday. I was there with some grown-up people [Antoinette Peyret and Madam Millet] who advised me to take paper and ink and to tell the Lady, if she had anything to say to me, to be good enough to put it down in writing. I said this to the Lady. She began to smile and she said, it was not necessary to write down what she had to say to me [Word 1—February 18], but would I be good enough to come there for fifteen days [Word 2—February 18]. I said I would.

She added (not necessarily on February 18, but actually later on) that I was to tell the priests to build a chapel there [Word 10—March 2 and the following days] that I was to go and drink at the spring, to wash myself there [Word 6—February 25], and pray for sinners [Word 4—February 21?]. She said the same words to me several times [at least those concerning a chapel]. She said three things to me which I am obliged to keep secret [Word 11—uncertain dates]. She also told me that she would not promise to make me happy in this world but in the next [Word 3—February 18]. And one day she told me to eat a plant that was growing at the same spot where I was to drink, only once. I don't know why [Word 7—February 25].

"The third time [the thirteenth time, or the third last time during the *quinzaine,* which was on March 2], I was to go to the parish priest to tell him that a Lady had instructed me to go and tell the priests to have a chapel built there [Word 9—March 2]."

As far as we know, this is the first time that Bernadette's account has been interpreted in this manner; and the writer presents his explanation for what it is worth. To him it seems to be a plausible solution of a difficult problem; and such words as "she added" and "one day she told me" seem to indicate that it is the correct one, at least in part. The only real difficulty is the last sentence in which Bernadette mentions the instructions concerning a chapel a second time and begins it by repeating the words "the third time." Perhaps she meant to say "the thirteenth time" or "the third last time during the *quinzaine*" (which would be correct), and wrote "the third time" by mistake. Anyhow, this is the only instance, in our interpretation, where the text of her description requires emendation.

Another question that Laurentin enables us to answer is the one concerning the number of persons who were present at the apparitions, at least some of them. On February 11, there were

three if we count Bernadette's two companions who arrived at the scene at the end of the apparition; on February 14 there were twelve persons; on February 23, 100; on March 1, 600; on March 2, 1,300; on March 3, 4,000; and on March 4, 20,000.[13]

Since we offer this discussion by way of preparation for the centennial of the Lourdes apparitions, which will be observed this year, it will be helpful to add the special prayer written by His Holiness Pope Pius XII for the International Marian Congress which will be held at Lourdes in the fall of this year:

Heeding your voice, O Immaculate Virgin of Lourdes, we hasten to your feet at the humble grotto where you deigned to appear to show the way of prayer and penitence to those astray, and to dispense to the stricken the graces and wonders of your unsurpassed kindness.

Receive, O Merciful Queen, the praise and supplications which peoples and nations, oppressed by bitterness and anxiety, trustfully raise to you.

O Fair Vision of Paradise, banish the darkness of error from our minds with the light of faith! O Mystical Rose, relieve crushed souls with the heavenly fragrance of hope! O Inexhaustible Source of Healing Waters, revive barren hearts with the flow of divine love!

Grant that all of us, your sons and daughters, comforted by you in our sorrows, protected in our danger, and aided in our struggles, may love and serve your gentle Jesus, and merit eternal happiness near your heavenly throne.

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[13] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 13.

ANOTHER VIEW OF NEWMAN

In the June, 1957, issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review* Monsignor Fenton's article, "Some Newman Autobiographical Sketches and the Newman Legend," dealt with a new collection of Cardinal Newman's biographical writings[1] and cited various cases of apparent excessive criticalness on the part of Newman in his relations with prominent churchmen of his day.

Many writers in the past have considered Newman an almost unblemished hero. Many have felt that he was quite mistreated by many prominent Catholics in England, Ireland, and in Rome. On the other hand, Monsignor Fenton wrote, "In point of fact, however, the story of the poor, persecuted, and almost forgotten Newman is one of the least plausible fables that has managed to attach itself to the fabric of modern ecclesiastical history . . . Objectively speaking, Newman had no cause whatsoever to complain about the treatment accorded him by the Catholic leaders or the Catholic public after his reception into the true Church."[2]

Even a Newman enthusiast has a problem, it seems, explaining away some of the Cardinal's statements. He was a sensitive man and some of his words seem to indicate at least an unbecoming impatience. Monsignor Fenton's statement that objectively Newman had no cause to complain about his treatment does not seem admissible to this writer, however. We hope to indicate why in the following pages.

We are not attempting to justify fully the Cardinal's statements. We bypass, too, the question of the "Newman Legend." We only wish to say there was real objective provocation for the Cardinal's attitude and some of the things he said, right or wrong though they be.

Wilfrid Ward, definitive biographer of John Henry Newman, in the Introduction to his *Life of Cardinal Newman* quotes and

[1] *John Henry Newman Autobiographical Writings,* edited with introductions by Henry Tristam of the Oratory, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957, pp. xi + 338. The book was actually prepared for the press and enriched with valuable notes by Fr. C. Stephen Dessain of the Oratory.

[2] Joseph Clifford Fenton, "Some Newman Autobiographical Sketches, and the Newman Legend," *AER,* CXXXVI, 6 (June 1957), 394-410.

comments upon a set of notes left to him by Father Henry Ryder, friend and colleague of Newman. Father Ryder writes of Newman's "passivity—making no attempt to fashion the course of his life, but waiting on Providence."[3] Ward adds in explantion:

> At critical moments when friends expect him (Newman) to strike and protest, he says instead 'Fiat voluntas tua.' The incident of the Irish bishopric, the suspension of the translation of the scriptures, the resignation of the editorship of the *Rambler,* the abandonment of the Oxford scheme, are all instances of this.[4]

A few pages later Ward writes:

> In reading Newman's correspondence, as when we watch a man in great pain, we hear, perhaps, at moments cries which are not musical, we witness movements not wholly dignified. But the feeling when all is read can hardly fail to be . . . one of deep love and reverence . . . his very holiness and devotion to duty are brought into relief by the trials which his own nature enhanced . . . There probably would be few symptoms of undue sensitiveness or of angry and resentful feeling to record had he led a life according to human inclination. But at the call of duty he attempted tasks which were intensely trying. He had strength to put his hand into the fire and keep it there. He had not strength never to cry out with pain, or always to preserve an attitude of studied grace.[5]

In the following pages we would like to look briefly at the four instances listed by Ward as examples of Newman's acceptance of Divine Providence, four instances of pain, distress, and perhaps, imperfection in his life.

On October 9, 1845 after long years of difficulty and doubt in religious matters John Henry Newman, the prominent leader of the Tractarian Movement, entered the Roman Catholic Church. In his own words he had come "into port after a rough sea."[6] If he expected, however, a smooth voyage in the future he was to be disappointed for certain. Though his religious doubts were overcome, turmoil and trouble continued to fill his life. As Dr.

[3] Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman,* 3rd ed. (New York; Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1913), I, 15.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.,* I, 21.

[6] John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London: Oxford Edition, 1931), p. 331.

Charles Frederick Harrold observes in his book *John Henry Newman,* "From being a leading figure in the Establishment, he was now to become an obscure Roman priest, generally overshadowed and misunderstood, often deliberately frustrated."[7]

Newman went to Rome in 1846 where he was ordained a priest and was given the degree of D.D. by the Pope. He joined the Oratorians, a semi-monastic order, and returned to England in 1847 where he became head of the Oratory at Egbaston, near Birmingham.[8] In 1850 he delivered a brilliant series of lectures on *The Difficulties of Anglicans* and in 1851-52 was involved in a libel suit by an ex-Dominican friar, Dr. Achilli. Though he had justly and correctly accused Achilli of gross immorality, Newman lost the suit and was fined one hundred pounds plus court costs of an additional fourteen thousand.

During the course of the Achilli trial Newman was invited by the Bishops of Ireland to undertake as Rector the foundation of a Catholic University in that country. There was great need for such an institution. The only available schools of higher learning in Ireland were not suitable for Catholic students, or so the Irish Bishops had ruled at the synod of Thurles in 1850.

Trinity College in Dublin was entirely Protestant. The Queen's Colleges of Galway and Cork, founded by Sir Robert Peel[9] in 1846 with a genuine desire of giving Irish Catholics facilities for University education on the same terms as their fellow countrymen, were devoted to "mixed" education.[10] Because of the dangers of liberalism, "mixed" education at this time was frowned upon by Rome and was condemned by the Irish Bishops. A new Catholic University seemed the best solution, though the bishops were not in full agreement on this score.

Newman took counsel and deliberated long before accepting the position as Rector of the proposed University. Though he sensed

[7] Charles Frederick Harrold, *John Henry Newman* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1945), p. 49.

[8] The degree awarded by the Pope and Newman's position as head of the Oratory do not contradict Dr. Harrold's statement in the previous paragraph. These were small events indeed in comparison with Newman's previous influential position at Oxford.

[9] Prime Minister of England, 1834-35 and 1841-46.

[10] "Mixed" education combined the teaching of theology, the classics and science in an atmosphere neutral to any particular religion.

the troubles and difficulties involved in setting up such an institution he felt the work was sent by God. With the backing of the hierarchy and the approval of the Pope which the project had been given, he could hardly help but wonder if the hand of Providence were not leading him on to a repetition in new surroundings of the great battle of the Oxford Movement.

However, plans for the new project proceeded slowly. Delay followed delay and differences of opinion arose between the various Irish bishops and between some of them and Newman. Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman of Westminster,[11] spoke to Pope Pius IX about making Newman a bishop to add prestige to his position as Rector of the new university and to put him on an equal footing with the Irish bishops in making decisions about the University. The Pope readily agreed and the dignity for Newman seemed so certain that Cardinal Wiseman wrote from Rome in January of 1854:

> I have only one thing to add, that I request the consolation and honour of conferring on you the proposed dignity, when the proper time shall come.[12]

Newman was happy about his appointment as bishop. "I never could have fancied," he wrote to a friend, "the circumstances would exist such as to lead me to be glad to be made a Bishop, but that so it was. I did feel glad for I did not see, without some accession of weight to my official position, how I could overcome the *inertia* and opposition which existed in Ireland on the project of a University."[13]

The proper time to make Newman a bishop never arrived. Newman never received official word from Rome about the consecration and neither Cardinal Wiseman nor anyone else in any official position ever said one more word on the subject. Newman never knew why his elevation to the bishopric which was thought by the Pope, the Cardinal, and the Archbishop,[14] so expedient for

[11] Dr. Nicholas Wiseman was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Westminster in 1850 when the Catholic hierarchy was restored to England.

[12] From Newman's own *Notes* as recorded in Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 330.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 331.

[14] Pope Pius IX, Cardinal Wiseman, and Dr. Paul Cullen who was made Archbishop of Dublin in 1852. Dr. Cullen was a leading promoter of the university, but also according to some its biggest hindrance.

the University or at least so settled a point, and which was so publicly announced, was suddenly and silently reversed.[15]

Obviously it had been Cardinal Wiseman more than the Irish bishops who had desired the honor for Newman. And it seems that Rome was not aware that Newman had been informed of the honor which was to have been his. Some felt that if Newman went to Rome to explain the situation, the promised honor would be granted, but Newman refused to do anything about it. As Ward comments:

> Newman's temperament made it impossible for him to move a finger in the matter, and in a busy world no urgent action was taken by others when the person most closely concerned made no sign.[16]

Newman himself, discussing the situation in his own *Notes* wrote:

> For myself, I never asked anyone a single question from the first to last on the subject, first of the delay and then of the abandonment of the intention. It never occupied my thoughts. The prospect of it faded out of my mind, as the delay was more and more prolonged. I felt that to be a Bishop then (in Ireland) would have singularly helped me in my work, but I should never have been able to resign if I had taken such wages; I might have been in Ireland till now. I am ever thankful to St. Philip[17] for having saved me from this.[18]

In 1856 when it became clear that the proposed Irish University was a practical impossibility under the existing conditions, Newman offered his resignation to the Irish Bishops as Rector. He returned to England and once again felt he saw the hand of God in a new work which opened its arms to him. Cardinal Wiseman wrote to ask him to edit a new English version of the Scriptures, which had been recommended by the second Synod of Oscott in 1855.

Though Newman was intensely interested in founding a new scholarly review, the *Atlantis,* to keep interested readers up to date on the trend and results of modern research and science, he

[15] Cf. Ward, *op. cit.,* I, 357.
[16] Cf. *ibid.,* I, 386.
[17] St. Philip Neri, founder of the Congregation of the Oratory.
[18] Ward, *op. cit.,* I, 358.

readily put aside his own project to accept Cardinal Wiseman's invitation. In September, 1857, he wrote to the Cardinal:

> If I accept the work put upon me without hesitation or reluctance, it is not as if I did not feel its arduousness to be as great as its honour, but because nothing seems left to me but to obey the expression of a wish which comes to me from Your Eminence with the concurrence of a Provincial Council.[19]

Newman immediately set to work on the project, searching for competent translators and scholars to handle the task. He decided that he himself would write an elaborate introduction to counteract the influence of the agnostic propaganda which was being carried on in the name of modern science.

More than a year passed before trouble began to brew on the horizon. A certain amount of progress had been made and a sum of money, considerable to Newman though not great in itself, had been spent when Newman received two letters. One, from the American bishops complained of Newman's project on the grounds that Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore was also engaged on a new English version of the Scriptures and had already published part of it. It was suggested that Newman combine his efforts with those of Archbishop Kenrick.

The second letter, from the English bishops, informed Newman that expenses incurred in the work of translation might be met by the copyright being his own property. The only catch, as far as Newman was concerned, was that he would receive nothing if his translation did not appear, which seemed likely under the situation.

Newman was indignant. He felt that Cardinal Wiseman who had invited him to accept the project should answer the American bishops and should provide for his necessary expenses. As Ward comments:

> Naturally enough, with his fastidious taste in English style, co-operation with American writers, however able, would be difficult. Moreover, he had submitted his final list of translators to Cardinal Wiseman, and they were actually at work.[20]

Nevertheless, a month later, in reply to a letter on the matter from the Bishop of Charlestown, Newman announced his com-

[19] *Ibid.*, I, 419.

[20] *Ibid.*, I, 426.

plete willingness to abide by the decision of the English bishops. But once again he heard no more—no word of explanation, no further instruction. As in the matter of his promised bishopric, though deeply interested in the translation project, Newman let the matter take care of itself.

Two years later in writing to Archbishop Kenrick, who also had not heard from Cardinal Wiseman, and who intended to proceed on his own with the American translation, Newman wrote:

> I did not know, what I find from your letter, that your Grace has been in some suspense as to the intention of the English Prelates with respect to it; for myself, as you seem to wish me to speak on the subject, I can only say that I have been in the same suspense myself and know nothing beyond the facts of the Bishop of Charlestown's letter. The Cardinal's many anxieties and engagements, and his late and present illness, doubtless are the cause of a silence which I am sorry you should have felt to be an inconvenience.[21]

Because of the silence and inactivity of those above him and the many problems their lack of interest begot, Newman abandoned the translation of the Scriptures, a project dear to his heart and one for which he had seemed providentially fitted.

Newman felt at this stage of his life that he needed a period of rest. He had always feared that he would die young. Yet he knew that he was living in important times and he prayed for guidance to be able to put forth his efforts where they might do the most good for the Church. In May, 1857 he had written to his fellow Oratorian, Father Ambrose St. John:

> It seems to me that a time of great reaction and of great trial is before us. I earnestly trust I may be wrong. I will do my best to prove myself wrong. But it seems to me that really I may be wanted in England, and that there may be a providential reason, over and above the compulsion of the Fathers at Birmingham, for me to return. . . .
>
> It makes me wish I were to live twenty years in full possession of my mind, for breakers are ahead. Yet the battle is not given to the strong, and Divine purposes are wrought out by the weak and unarmed, so that I am making myself of more importance than past history justifies . . . Do pray for me that I may find out what use God wishes to put me to, and may pursue it with great obedience.[22]

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[21] *Ibid.*, I, 427.

[22] *Ibid.*, I, 438.

At the time his Scripture project failed, the *Rambler,* a liberal Catholic magazine of the times, had run into trouble with the Church authorities. The *Rambler* was involved in the very issues Newman felt were so important to his times. He felt the *Rambler* was an important organ for directing and forming leadership among the learned Catholic laymen of his day and he determined to do what he could to help it continue in existence.

The *Rambler* touched upon theological, scientific and intellectual subjects in a manner that sometimes disagreed with Church discipline. Richard Simpson, editor of the magazine, wrote in a liberal manner which many churchmen considered downright dangerous. In fact it seemed certain that the *Rambler* was to be censured in the forthcoming Pastorals of the English bishops.

Newman knew this censure would be disastrous to the *Rambler* and to the group of intellectuals who were bound up in its ideals. He knew also that he was perhaps the only person in England who could defend the *Rambler* before the bishops. He persuaded Simpson to resign as editor on condition that the bishops would then withhold their censure. In looking about for a new editor it became apparent that Newman himself was the logical person. In fact it appeared that the review would die unless he did become editor.

Ward tells us:

> Under the deepest sense of duty, and after a good deal of hesitation and consultation with the fathers of the Oratory, after praying long to know God's will, he accepted it (the editorship) in March 1859. He did so at the wish of Bishop Ullathorne and Cardinal Wiseman . . . His letters show that he regarded the undertaking as a duty—a most important one, though in some ways a most unwelcome one. And he seems to have felt somewhat bitterly that his motives were little appreciated. He was credited with wishing to exercise influence, to propagate his own ideas.[23]

Newman made some definite suggestions for the publication as he took over the reins. He felt the *Rambler* should give up articles directly dealing with theology, should aim at escaping the displeasure of its ecclesiastical superiors, and yet should promote the

[23] *Ibid.,* I, 481.

good ends to which it was devoted. In writing to Lord John Acton, his collaborator on the magazine, he said:

> Let it go back to its own literary line. Let it be instructive, clever, and amusing. Let it cultivate a general temper of good humour and courtesy. Let it praise as many persons as it can, and gain friends in neutral quarters, and become the organ of others by the interest it has made them take in its proceedings. Then it will be able to plant a good blow at a fitting time with great effect.[24]

Newman, however, in order to shield the previous editors and contributors, whom he felt to be sincere Catholics made no blunt announcements concerning a distinct change in policy. He hoped gradually to eliminate the faults of tone and temper which had prejudiced Catholic readers against the *Rambler*. However, opposition continued strong against the *Rambler* even under his editorship. Few considered the work as important and as difficult as he did. When he asked his Bishop, Dr. Ullathorne, for a theological censor for the Review, he was disappointed to learn that even his own bishop now hoped he would give up this work. With mixed feelings Newman acquiesced.

He was relieved that such a difficult task was lifted from his shoulders. Yet a great sadness overshadowed him. As Ward tells us:

> The Bishop's action was in reality a great blow to Newman. It added one more to the list of tasks he had undertaken in hope, and which had been frustrated by those who failed to understand its importance. The brief chapter of his editorship[25] may be concluded by the following words on the subject, marked by sadness and resignation, in a letter, of July 17, to Henry Wilberforce:
>
> "I did all I could to ascertain God's will, and, that being the case, I am sure good will come of my taking it. I am of opinion that the Bishops only see one side of things, and I have a mission, as far as my own internal feelings go, against evils which I *see*. On the other hand, I have always preached that things which are *really* useful, still are done, according to God's will, at *one time, not at another;* and that, if you attempt at a *wrong* time, what in *itself* is *right,* you perhaps become a heretic or schismatic. What I may aim at may be real good, but it may be God's Will it should be done a

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[24] *Ibid.*, I, 485.

[25] He was editor less than two months.

hundred years later . . . God overrules all things. Of course it is discouraging to be out of joint with the time, and to be snubbed and stopped as soon as I begin to act.[26]

The years between 1859 and 1864 were the saddest in Newman's life. Every project he tried failed. As we have seen he was criticized and condemned not only by those outside the Church, but also by many who should have been his strongest supporters within.

However, the publication in 1864 of his autobiography, the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* in reply to Charles Kingsley's accusation of being a liar turned the tide for Newman in the eyes of the world. Though animosity and perhaps jealousy of him increased even among a few eminent Catholic churchmen, for the most part he was looked upon as a hero in the English speaking world.

At this time entrance exams to the English universities (swearing to the thirty-nine Articles), had been abolished and Catholics were now free in conscience to attend. This opened a new project for Newman, one which he hoped he would be able to carry through to success on the basis of the new popularity he had gained by the publication of his *Apologia.*

In as much as the proposed Catholic University had failed, if Catholics were to get a university training at all it had to be at Oxford or Cambridge. Though Newman would have much preferred a thoroughly Catholic university, he felt that the establishment of a Catholic college or at least of a Catholic hall at Oxford was an important move. Though the bishops were not in full accord with the idea of Catholic students attending Oxford, Newman received permission to buy land at Oxford and planned to set up some kind of Catholic Mission.

Again he felt he saw the hand of Divine Providence in the proceedings. On November 1, 1864 he wrote to Mother Imelda Poole:

We shall have plenty of trials in time, but at present the sky is very clear and bright, and the landscape is rose-colour. Alas, that bright mornings are the soonest overcast! So great a work cannot be done without great crosses, yet I don't like to say so, for it is like prophesying against myself, and I do not like trial at all. What

[26] Ward, *op. cit.,* I, 499 f.

is to happen if we are not preserved in health and strength! We have few enough to work if we have our all—we have not a quarter of a Father to spare—but we must leave all this to Him who we trust is employing us.[27]

And the same day in a letter to his friend Henry Wilberforce he wrote:

As to Oxford, we are astonished at our own doings—and our only hope is that we are doing God's Will in thus portentously involving ourselves both in money matters and in work . . . The Bishop has given us a strong letter, and I trust we shall collect a large sum for the Church. Everything looks favorable at the moment, but of course we shall have plenty of crosses at time goes on.[28]

The abundance of crosses which Newman seemed to expect soon began to arrive. W. G. Ward, lay publisher of the *Dublin Review* strongly opposed Newman's plan and the two future Cardinals Manning and Vaughan carried the fight against the attendance of Catholics at Oxford to Rome. In the matter of a few weeks the entire project was definitely dropped. The bishops met on December 13 and passed resolutions in favor of an absolute prohibition of Oxford.

In a sad letter to Sister Imelda Poole Newman wrote:

As to the Oxford scheme it is still the Blessed Will of God to send me baulks. On the whole, I suppose, looking through my life as a course, He is using me, but really viewed in its separate parts it is but a life of failures.[29]

Ward remarks in regard to the event:

The failure of the Oxford scheme was regarded by Newman as final so far as his own lifetime went. And he sold the ground he had bought. The disappointment did not, however, crush Newman as earlier ones had done. His habit of patience had grown on him, and seems to have given him more of strength and calmness . . . Moreover he had seen signs, in the strong support he now had among Catholics, that his own views might one day prevail.[30]

Oddly enough the proposed establishment of a mission at Oxford revived within two years. At the instigation of his bishop, Dr.

[27] *Ibid.*, II, 61. [28] *Ibid.*, II, 61 f. [29] *Ibid.*, II, 67. [30] *Ibid.*, II, 71.

Ullathorne, Newman again purchased land at Oxford and by 1867 all seemed to promise well. However, Newman's opponents once and for all ended the project as far as he was concerned.

Cardinal Manning, it seemed, feared that Newman at Oxford would not only take care of the students in attendance, but would attract many others to the school. Instead of doing good for a few he would be enticing others, as it were, into an occasion of sin. Some critics feel that subconsciously Manning did not welcome the idea of Newman returning to enjoy an Oxford triumph.[31] Others refuse to admit that Manning was guilty of jealousy.[32]

Whatever their motives may have been, Manning and Newman were at loggerheads. As Bertram Newman observes: "Their antagonism, which touched no matter of faith, sprang partly from temperament and partly from policy; in every point in which two men in their positions could differ they differed."[33]

As Leslie tells us, Newman: "complained that in his dealing with Manning he never knew whether he was standing on his head or his feet! As Manning noted: 'terms which made a reply hardly fitting on my part. For years we never wrote and never met.' "[34]

The incidents here presented seem to show the great dependence of Cardinal Newman upon Divine Providence at every turn. He prayed to God for light and felt that he was being guided by God in every work. Even in his failures he saw the hand of God.

We see also, perhaps, evidence of personal failings on his part, evidence of impatience and uncharity. However, considering Newman's temperament, his intense interest in his labors, and the manner in which he was so completely frustrated, there seems to be some excuse for these defects of character, if not complete justification.

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[31] Shane Leslie in *Manning: Anglican and Catholic,* edited by John Fitzsimons (London: Burns Oates, 1951), p. 75.

[32] Bertram Newman, *Cardinal Newman* (New York: The Century Co., 1925), p. 164.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Manning: Anglican and Catholic,* p. 77.

NEWMAN'S COMPLAINTS EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF PRIESTLY SPIRITUALITY

This article is being written as a reply to the one immediately preceding it in this issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review.* It must open with an avowal of sincere admiration for the content and form of Father Beckman's "Another View of Newman." Father Beckman has presented his case clearly and courteously. What he has written shows his mastery of the subject. "Another View of Newman" admirably expresses and defends an attitude towards Newman which seems to be most popular in our country today.

Essentially, Father Beckman's article has been written to state and to sustain the author's disagreement with an assertion contained in my own essay, "Some Newman Autobiographical Sketches and the Newman Legend," carried last June in *AER.*[1] That essay contained the statement: "Objectively speaking, Newman had no cause whatsoever to complain about the treatment accorded him by the Catholic leaders or the Catholic public after his reception into the true Church."[2] In his own article Father Beckman writes: "Monsignor Fenton's statement that objectively Newman had no cause to complain about his treatment does not seem admissible to this writer."[3] Father Beckman's "Another View of Newman" is a well organized and formidable argument in support of his contention.

Both "Some Newman Autobiographical Sketches and the Newman Legend" and "Another View of Newman" are primarily concerned with the complaints set down by Newman in his 1859-79 Journal. In his last entry, Newman himself thus characterized this Journal: "I am dissatisfied with the whole of this book. It is more or less a complaint from one end to the other. But it represents

[1] *AER,* CXXXVI, 6 (June, 1957), 394-410.
[2] *Ibid.,* 403 f.
[3] *Supra,* p. ???.

what has been the real state of my mind, and what my Cross has been."[4]

Father Beckman has chosen to defend his position by pointing to four incidents in Newman's life in which he has been represented as having been treated by his ecclesiastical superiors in such a way as to give objective justification to complaints on his part. These same four events are mentioned by Newman's official biographer, Wilfrid Ward, as instances in which Newman manifested that quality Fr. Henry Ignatius Ryder had attributed to him, "passivity—making no attempt to fashion the course of his life, but waiting on Providence."[5] Commenting on Father Ryder's words, Ward wrote:

> At critical moments, when friends expect him to strike and to protest, he says instead, "Fiat voluntas tua." The incident of the Irish bishopric, the suspension of the translation of the Scriptures, the resignation of the editorship of the *Rambler*, the abandonment of the Oxford scheme, are all instances of this.[6]

Father Beckman devotes the greater part of his paper to an explanation of these same four incidents in Newman's life. He comes to the following conclusion:

> The incidents here presented seem to show the great dependence of Cardinal Newman upon Divine Providence at every turn. He prayed to God for light and felt that he was being guided by God in every work. Even in his failures he saw the hand of God.
>
> We see also, perhaps, evidence of personal failings on his part, evidence of impatience and uncharity. However, considering Newman's temperament, his intense interest in his labors, and the manner in which he was so completely frustrated, there seems to be some excuse for these defects of character, if not complete justification.[7]

If the point at issue here were merely or even primarily personal, an evaluation of Newman's character and a discussion of its defects, there would be no legitimate reason for replying to

[4] *John Henry Newman Autobiographical Writings,* edited with introductions by Henry Tristram of the Oratory (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957), p. 275. Future references to this book will designate it as *Autobiographical Writings.*

[5] Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman,* 3rd edition (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), I, 15.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Supra,* p. 48.

Father Beckman's paper at all. Certainly no worth-while purpose would be served by any debate within this area. Neither could there be any question of a continuation of the discussion if it were to center around points of historical hindsight. Would the purposes of the Catholic Church have been served more effectively if the Irish hierarchy had petitioned the Holy See to have Newman made a bishop while he was acting as the rector of the Catholic university in that country? Would the cause of Christ and of His Church have been better off if Bishop Ullathorne had not expressed the wish that Newman resign his position as editor of the *Rambler?* Would Our Lord's cause have profited if Cardinal Wiseman and the other members of the English hierarchy had been more energetic in insisting that Newman continue with his translation of the Bible? Would it have been better for the Catholics of England if Pope Pius IX had not objected to Newman's residence at Oxford? All of these are questions which can be answered only in terms of conjecture.

The actual point at issue here is to be found in an altogether different sphere. Father Beckman has taken exception to the statement that "Objectively speaking, Newman had no cause whatever to complain about the treatment accorded him by the Catholic leaders or the Catholic public after his reception into the true Church."[8] He has defended his position by bringing forward evidence directed towards showing that "there was real objective provocation for the Cardinal's attitude and some of the things he said, right or wrong though they be."[9] We are not concerned with the subjective rightness or wrongness of Newman's reactions to his ecclesiastical superiors, his fellow priests, and the Catholic people of England. We are concerned with the objective legitimacy of the actual complaints Newman made, the complaints he registered in his 1859-79 Journal, and which, according to his own testimony, characterized his state of mind during the period covered by the entries in that Journal.

This question, in its turn, involves principles of paramount importance in the field of priestly spirituality. If there be objective justification for the complaining attitude expressed by Newman in this 1859-79 Journal, then any other priest who found himself in a situation like the one to which Newman so strenuously ob-

[8] *Supra,* p. 37. [9] *Ibid.*

jected would be objectively justified in adopting a like attitude. It is perfectly true that Newman was an extraordinarily gifted genius. Yet the principles of priestly spirituality remain normative even for exceptionally gifted men.

Clearly the first item that must be examined if we are to try and learn if Newman's continual complaints were objectively justified must be the import of those complaints themselves. And, if we look at the content of the 1859-79 Journal carefully, we find that, while it contains some elements of adverse self-criticism, actually most of it is devoted to expressions of resentment and complaint against Newman's ecclesiastical superiors, against some of his brother priests, and against the Catholic people of England as a group. What is manifestly the basic motive for this resentment is Newman's strong conviction that he had a benefit to confer on the members of the true Church in his own country, and that he was being frustrated and deprived of a chance to make his contribution by reason of the hostility of his ecclesiastical superiors and the lack of enlightenment in the English Catholic public.

"Not understood"—this is the point. I have seen great wants which had to be supplied among Catholics, especially as regards education, and of course those who laboured under those wants, did not know their state—and did not see or understand the want at all—or what was the supply of the want, and felt no thankfulness at all, and no consideration towards a person who was doing something towards that supply, but rather thought him restless, or crotchetty, or in some way or other what he should no be.[10]

In his Journal Newman sets down a passage he had written in the first draft of a letter he had written to a friend years before. Despite the fact that the finished letter had not contained the passage, he chose to incorporate into the text of the Journal.

The case has been the same of late. I have felt there were many things to be done, and that God has given me talents to do some of them. I know that there are things *in* me, which I have but partially given out; and friends have said I ought not to die without saying them; but, as sure as I begin to attempt any thing, I am stopped.[11]

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[10] *Autobiographical Writings,* p. 251.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 260.

In a footnote the author acknowledges that, when he used the term "friends" in this context, he was referring especially to Bishop Ullathorne.

The following long citation from the Journal brings out several of the more important aspects of Newman's general complaint.

> And, when I have given as my true opinion, that I am afraid to make hasty converts of educated men, lest they should not have counted the cost, and should have difficulties after they have entered the Church, I do but imply the same thing, that the Church must be prepared for converts, as well as converts prepared for the Church. How can this be understood at Rome? What do they know there of the state of English Catholics, of the minds of English Protestants? What do they know of the antagonism of Protestantism and Catholicism in England? The Cardinal might know something, were he not so outsided, so slow to throw himself into other minds, so sanguine, so controversial and unphilosophic in his attitude of mind, so desirous to make himself agreeable to authorities at Rome. And Catholics in England, from their very blindness, cannot see that they are blind. To aim then at improving the condition, the status, of the Catholic body, by a careful survey of their argumentative basis, of their position relatively to the philosophy and the character of the day, by giving them juster views, by enlarging and refining their minds, in one word, by education, is (in their view) more than a superfluity or a hobby, it is an insult. It implies that they are deficient in material points. Now from first to last, education, in this large sense of the word, has been my line, and, over and above the disappointment it has caused as putting conversions comparatively in the background, and the offence it has caused by insisting that there was room for improvement among Catholics, it has in two ways seriously annoyed the governing body here and at Rome: —at Rome on the side of the philosophy of polemics—*I* should wish to attempt to meet the great infidel &c. questions of the day, but both Propaganda and the Episcopate, doing nothing themselves, look with extreme jealousy on any one who attempts it, and, giving him no credit for what he has done well, come down with severity on any point in which he may have slipped.—And secondly, especially at home, because I have set up a school, and so interfered with the vested rights, as they may be called, of this or that College or Seminary.[12]

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 258 f.

Considering now only this decisively basic element in Newman's attitude, we can begin to investigate the objective legitimacy of this complaint. The answer to our inquiry must depend on our response to the question as to whether or not a priest is justified in complaining or expressing resentment against his ecclesiastical superiors if these superiors do not assign him or encourage him to work within a field which the priest himself considers to be especially within the area of his own competence. If this basic attitude on Newman's part was objectively justified, then any priest whose superiors do not assign him to work for which he thinks he is particularly fitted is objectively entitled to complain against his own superiors.

Newman aimed "at improving the condition, the status, of the Catholic body" in his own country "by a careful survey of their argumentative basis, of their position relatively to the philosophy and the character of the day, by giving them juster views, by enlarging and refining their minds, in one word, by education." He wished "to meet the great infidel &c. questions of the day." He maintained that, in this field, "both Propaganda and the Episcopate, doing nothing themselves, look with extreme jealousy on any one who attempts it, and, giving him no credit for what he has done well, come down with severity on any point in which he may have slipped."

The present Holy Father's allocution *Si diligis* appeared, it is true, almost ninety years after Newman voiced his fundamental complaint in his Journal. Nevertheless, it expresses Catholic doctrine which was taught explicitly by the Church long before Newman's time. In the *Si diligis* we find an expression of those very truths which must be understood if we are to arrive at an accurate judgment about the objective legitimacy of Newman's complaint.

> Besides the lawful successors of the Apostles, namely the Roman Pontiff for the universal Church and Bishops for the faithful entrusted to their care, there are no other teachers divinely constituted in the Church of Christ. But both the Bishops and, first of all, the Supreme Teacher and Vicar of Christ on earth, may associate others with themselves in their work of teacher, and use their advice; they delegate to them the faculty to teach, either by special grant, or by conferring an office to which the faculty is attached. Those who are so called teach not in their own name, nor by reason

of their theological knowledge, but by reason of the mandate they have received from the lawful Teaching Authority. Their faculty always remains subject to that Authority, nor is it ever exercised in its own right or independently. Bishops, for their part, by conferring this faculty are not deprived of the right to teach; they retain the very grave obligation of supervising the doctrine, which others propose, in order to help them, and of seeing to its integrity and security. Therefore the legitimate Teaching Authority of the Church is guilty of no injury or no offence to any of those to whom it has given a canonical mission, if it desires to ascertain what they, to whom it has entrusted the mission of teaching, are proposing and defending in their lectures, in books, notes and reviews intended for the use of their students, as well as in books and other publications intended for the general public.[13]

Thus the responsibility for the spiritual well being of the universal Church militant of the New Testament has been divinely imposed upon the successor of St. Peter, and the responsibility for the spiritual well being of the faithful within the diocese over which he presides has been divinely imposed upon the individual residential bishop within the Catholic Church. With that responsibility goes the power to teach their flocks in an authoritative manner and to employ other men to assist them in their doctrinal labors. It goes without saying that neither the Holy See nor the individual residential Bishop is guilty of any injustice if they see fit not to assign any priest, even a man of undoubted genius, to a position which he might believe himself exceptionally well qualified to fill.

Newman was convinced that the English Catholics as a group were badly in need of the particular sort of education he considered himself definitely competent to impart. That education, as the context of his complaints shows very clearly, lay within the religious sphere. As such it was within the area of the apostolic responsibility and of the apostolic authority. If the successor of St. Peter and the other members of the apostolic college of the Catholic Church did not see fit to commission him for the work he believed he could do so well, and did not encourage the attempts he had already made in this direction, he had no objectively valid reason to complain on that score.

[13] This is taken from a translation of the text of *Si diligis*, in *AER*, CXXXI, 2 (Aug., 1954), 133 f.

There is a highly important and intensely practical reason for an accurate and clear evaluation of this basic complaint on Newman's part. The temptation to think along this line was and is in no way restricted to Newman. Any priest who is at all active in the ecclesiastical life may be tempted to search out and to bemoan what he might lead himself to believe were serious deficiencies in the policy and the administration of his own ecclesiastical superiors. Any priest can sit around and dream of the magnificent work he could accomplish for the Church if he were in a position of authority, or if his superiors would only give him an assignment more in keeping with what he believes his competence to be. Any priest can label his own sacerdotal career as a long series of failures, and blame these failures on the shortcomings or even the jealousy of his ecclesiastical superiors.

Tendencies in this direction actually constitute temptations, and sometimes rather serious temptations, for priests, particularly for those who have a high regard for their own talents. If such men succumb to these temptations, and actually live in an atmosphere of complaint and rancor against their superiors in the true Church of Jesus Christ, they are violating an elementary canon of sacerdotal spirituality, and they are in great measure ruining the effectiveness of their own priesthood. And, in the event that they spread their complaints abroad, and work to influence others to lessen or even to withdraw their respect and affection from the ecclesiastical superiors against whom they complain, they are guilty of what is, objectively speaking, a serious breach of priestly ethics.

There is one class of priests upon whom such temptations could weigh most heavily. Almost every seminary reunion brings together old schoolmates, some of whom occupy what are considered the highest positions within the Church, while others have been assigned to places which, in the estimation of the world, are comparatively inconspicuous and modest. Not infrequently we encounter, in this latter group, men whose seminary grades and apparent prospects were much higher than those of some of their classmates who have been promoted to positions of great authority and influence in the Church.

Human nature being what it is, almost every priest could think of some policies which he would put into effect for the spiritual betterment of the Catholic people if he were in a position to do so.

But is the priest objectively justified in complaining, in harboring and expressing rancor and resentment because he is not in such a position? If Newman's fundamental complaint, as set down in his Journal, is to be judged as objectively legitimate, then our question must be answered in the affirmative. And, on the other hand, precisely because our question demands a negative answer, we must accept the fact that there was no objective justification for Newman's basic complaint.

The only realistic and accurate view of the priesthood and the life of the priesthood is that which we obtain in the light of divine faith. And, in the light of that faith, it is quite obvious that no priest has any objectively valid reason to complain because he is not in a position of authority in the Church, and is thus unable to carry out the projects which he believes to be especially valuable for his fellow Catholics. The man who has received the high dignity and privilege of the priesthood is manifestly obligated to do his very best for Our Lord's cause in the particular station to which he has been assigned. It is a fundamental and absolutely practical truth, and not any mere pious platitude, that God's voice and God's commands come to the priest in the directives of his ecclesiastical superiors. If he is going to carry out his commission, and serve God as the priest of His Son, he is going to do it in the position and in the situation to which the orders of his ecclesiastical superiors have assigned him. And, conversely, in any position the priest occupies by the command of his ecclesiastical superiors, he is in a condition to serve God gloriously in and through his sacerdotal ministrations.

If, in carrying out the commands of those who are placed over him in the Church, he finds himself in a situation which is from the merely natural or worldly point of view, other than completely desirable or pleasant, he can be sure that he is where he is by the will of God. In the light of God's own supernatural revelation, he is bound to realize that, in this naturally unpleasant situation, he is privileged to accept and to perform some particularly difficult work in Our Lord's service.

In the economy of faith, a man should not and does not become a priest in order to occupy some position which he considers pleasant, or which he considers sufficiently influential and honorable to be worthy of his own talents. If worldly motives were valid in the

life of the priesthood, if the sacerdotal life could be seen accurately in a merely natural light, such a procedure might be possible or even desirable. But, in point of fact, the work and the life of the Catholic priesthood lie within the order of intrinsically supernatural reality. The priest, empowered as he is to celebrate the sacrifice of the Mass, is incorporated into an organization or a brotherhood that exists only to aid and to further the apostolic work for which the apostolic college in the Church is made responsible, a work which is the continuation of Our Lord's own redemptive activity. The only valid motive for entering into that life is that of participating in that work out of love for Our Lord. The only valid norm for a correct evaluation of the details of that life is to be found in Our Lord's teachings and in His love.

According to that norm, no priest, not even a genius like John Henry Newman, has any really objective justification for complaint or resentment because he is not commissioned and not encouraged to proceed with projects that he may consider most beneficial to the faithful. And certainly he has no right to complain because the Holy See and the bishops have come down with severity on doctrinal statements which, however well meant, are opposed to the teaching of the Church.

There is another, and a highly important element, in Newman's fundamental complaint which must be taken into consideration in any attempt to judge about the objective justification of his attitude. That element is the personal rancor he showed against ecclesiastical authorities in general, against certain individual prelates, against many of his brother priests, and against the Catholic population of England in general. We have already seen his assertion that "both Propaganda and the Episcopate, doing nothing themselves, look with extreme jealousy on any one who attempts it [the work of attempting to meet the great questions of the day in the field of what he called 'the philosophy of polemics'], and, giving him no credit for what he has done well, come down with severity on any point in which he may have slipped." Unfortunately, it was all to characteristic of Newman's attitude that he should accuse the Holy See and the hierarchy of his own country of looking "with extreme jealousy" on a person who was trying to do what they had never done themselves.

In the same way, he depicted himself as rejected by his superiors precisely because he would not stoop to unworthy practices.

Because I have not pushed myself forward, because I have not dreamed of saying "See what I am doing and have done"—because I have not retailed gossip, flattered great people, and sided with this or that party, I am nobody. I have no friend at Rome. I have laboured in England, to be misrepresented, backbitten, and scorned. I have laboured in Ireland, with a door ever shut in my face. I seem to have had many failures, and what I did well was not understood. I do not think I am saying this in any bitterness.[14]

Newman seemed to be obsessed with the idea that his superiors wanted flattery or servility from him. The penultimate entry in the Journal brings this out very clearly.

I notice the following, lest the subject should turn up when I am gone, and my friends be perplexed how to deal with it.

I have before now said in writing to Cardinals Wiseman and Barnabo, when I considered myself treated with slight and unfairness, "So this is the return made to me for working for the Catholic cause for some many years," i.e. to that effect.

I feel it still, and ever shall—but it was not a disappointed ambition which I was then expressing in words, but a scorn and wonder at the *injustice* shown me, and at the demand of toadyism on my part, if I was to get their favour, and the favour of Rome.[15]

The main body of this entry in the Journal, which is dated Sept. 10, 1876, is, in substance, a long declaration by Newman to the effect that he had no "disappointment at having received no promotion,"[16] and that he "never had any motive of secular or ecclesiastical ambition."[17] Yet the last lines of the same entry would seem to tell another story.

I have had, it is true, no recognition in high quarters—but what warm, kind letters in private have I had! and how many! and what public acknowledgments! How ungrateful I am, or should I be, if such letters and such notices failed to content me.[18]

It is perfectly obvious from the context of this passage, and, indeed, from the entire content of this Journal, that Newman did desire "recognition in high quarters." His strong insistence that he

[14] *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 251.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[16] Cf. *ibid.*
[17] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 274.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

was not disappointed "at having received no promotion" certainly runs counter to what appears to be the first inference to which the text of the Journal leads. He shows himself as inordinately desirous of praise and recognition. He also manifests an extraordinary sensitivity to any blame or correction. His introspection, the most obvious of his tendencies, turned more towards self-justification than towards any accurate and humble evaluation of his own conduct.

The only faults for which he reproaches himself were awkward performances that in one way or another interfered with the public's esteem for himself. There is never ever a trace of a statement to the effect that he might have been really culpable at any time or in any of his dealings. Yet every prelate whose name appears in the Journal is mentioned unfavorably, with the single exception of a reference to Bishop Ullathorne. Every priest who is mentioned is singled out for blame, with the exception of Father St. John. And, as for superiors in general, this was his definitive judgment, as set down in the entry of Feb. 22, 1865.

> And now, alas, I fear that in one sense the iron has entered into my soul. I mean that confidence in any superiors whatever never can blossom again within me. I never shall feel easy with them. I shall (I feel) always think they will be taking some advantage of me—that at length their way will lie across mine, and that my efforts will be displeasing to them. I shall ever be suspicious that they or theirs have secret unkind thoughts of me, and that they deal with me with some arrière pensée. And, as it is my happiness so to be placed as not to have much intercourse with them, therefore, while I hope ever loyally to fulfil their orders, it is my highest gain and most earnest request to them, that they would let me alone—and, since I do not want to initiate any new plan of any kind, that, if they can, they would keep their hands off me. Whether or not they will consent to this is more than I can say, for they seem to wish to ostracize me. But, in saying this, I repeat what I said when I began to write, I am now in a state of quiescence, and fear as little as I hope. And I do not expect this state of mind to be reversed. God forbid I should liken them to the "Scribes and Pharisees"—but still I obey them, as Scribes and Pharisees were to be obeyed, as God's representatives, not from devotion to *them*.[19]

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[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 262 f.

Pope Pius XII brought out, through the recent letter from Msgr. Dell'Acqua to Cardinal Dalla Costa, what the attitude of the priest to the Holy Father, the bishops, and his fellow-priests should really be. In this letter we are told that: "Situating the question of the Church's presence in the world in these terms of the primacy of charity, one can say that the primacy of this presence is and will be given by priestly charity and brotherhood, in the union of the priests with the Pope, with the Bishops, and among themselves."[20]

Newman prided himself on being a minimist in matters of doctrine. One might also say with truth that he was something of a minimist in the field of charity. He sincerely stated his willingness to obey his ecclesiastical superiors. Yet at the same time, by reason of his grievances against some of those superiors, he asserted that it was and would continue to be his hope that, in the future, he might have as little as possible to do with these or any other superiors. His observation that he would obey his ecclesiastical superiors within the Church "as Scribes and Pharisees were to be obeyed, as God's representatives, not from devotion to *them*," was, frankly, quite unfortunate. After all, according to God's own command, we are to have and foster charity, and an especially intense charity, towards our fellow-disciples of Jesus Christ. And certainly it is not in any way a part of Catholic life to obey our superiors out of devotion to them, considered as in any way apart from Our Lord. The *amor fraternitatis* for ecclesiastical superiors and for fellow priests, if it existed in Newman, was not very powerful, at least according to the evidence contained in the Journal.

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Father Beckman has based his case mainly on an examination of four incidents in Newman's life which, according to Wilfrid Ward, showed the great Oratorian's outstanding dependence on divine Providence. These happenings are described in "Another View of Newman" in order to show that Newman had objective and legitimate reason for complaint. Yet, if we examine these four incidents carefully in the light of easily available evidence, it

[20] This is taken from the translation of the letter in *AER*, CXXXII, 4 (Oct., 1957), 278.

would seem that Newman had no objective reason to complain of injustice or any other form of bad treatment by his superiors in the Church on any of these occasions. Certainly they could never justify the attitude expressed on the pages of the 1859-79 Journal.

The first of these incidents is the affair of the bishopric, during the course of Newman's term as rector of the Catholic University in Ireland. Father Beckman has given an account of it in his article. Unfortunately, however, he has omitted one important point. The fact of the matter is that, immediately after he received the fateful letter from Cardinal Wiseman, Newman proceeded to inform his friends about it. He told some of his friends among the English Bishops. And he writes:

> Various friends made me costly presents in anticipation of the requirements of a Bishop. The Duke of Norfolk sent me a massive gold chain. Mrs. Bowden a cross and chain of Maltese filagree work. Mr. Hope Scott a morse for a cope, ornamented with his wife's jewels, and Mr. Monsell a cross.
>
> So matters remained for some months. When I went to Ireland I made it known at Limerick and elsewhere that the Holy Father had designated me a Bishop.[21]

Cardinal Wiseman had concluded the famous letter with these two sentences: "I will offer no congratulations as yet. You will use quite your own discretion about this letter."[22] In view of the Cardinal's Roman background, it does not seem too much to say that the "discretion" of which he spoke definitely did not include any publicizing of its most important item. Any priest ordinarily would know that the most effective way to stop the appointment Newman so desired was precisely the step he took, that of spreading abroad the report that he was going to be appointed a bishop.

Furthermore, from the very first, Newman found himself out of harmony with the then Archbishop Cullen, the chancellor of the university. "From the first," Newman himself tells us, Archbishop Cullen "quarrelled with my partial residence at Dublin. He thought, that, with the exception of a fair annual holiday, I ought to be at

[21] *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 317. This citation is taken, not from Newman's 1859-79 Journal, but from his Memorandum about my Connection with the Catholic University.

[22] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 316.

my post all through the year."[23] He also took exception to Newman's desire "to make the laity a substantive power in the University."[24] He disliked and opposed some of the men Newman was bringing in as teachers.

In view of this background, there is little wonder that the chancellor did not urge the Holy Father that his rector should be given episcopal consecration.

The suspension of the translation of the Scriptures is the second of the incidents to which Father Beckman appeals. In this case, however, we must not lose sight of the fact that the suspension was ordered by Newman himself, after the English hierarchy had endorsed financial arrangements which he himself had originally suggested, and which Cardinal Wiseman had originally opposed.

Newman resigned as editor of the *Rambler* after only one issue had appeared under his direction. His resignation was requested by Bishop Ullathorne, his special friend and the ordinary of the diocese within which his community was located. This affair hurt him terribly. Yet he had no cause for objectively just complaint on this score. The *Rambler* had been a thoroughly reprehensible magazine. It was saved from explicit condemnation by the English hierarchy only on the hope that it would improve with Newman as editor. When Newman's issue appeared, the magazine was still judged harmful to the Catholic faith and to the discipline of the Church. The Bishop was not only justified in asking Newman to withdraw, but, in view of his responsibility to God for the spiritual welfare of his people, there was no other course he could rightly take.

Here, incidentally, it becomes necessary to note that Newman's connection with the *Rambler* was not quite the innocuous affair some of his admirers describe. Wilfrid Ward has cited a portion of the text of a letter written by Acton, one of the *Rambler* group to one of his associates, Richard Simpson. In it Acton tells of a visit with Newman, which took place only a few months before the latter assumed the editorship of that publication. In the course of the interview, Acton informed Newman that some one had denounced an article written by Döllinger, Acton's old teacher and

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[24] Cf. *ibid.*

friend, to the ecclesiastical authorities. The letter to Simpson contains this passage, describing Newman's reaction to the news.

> . . . I had a three hours' talk with the venerable Newman, who came out at last with his real sentiments to an extent which startled me with respect both to things and persons, as Ward, Dalgairns, &c., &c.; natural inclination of men in power to tyrannise; ignorance and presumption of would-be theologians. I did not think he would ever cast aside his diplomacy and buttonment so entirely, and was quite surprised at the intense interest he betrayed in the *Rambler*. He was quite miserable when I told him the news, and moaned for a long time, rocking himself backwards and forwards over the fire like an old woman with a toothache. He thinks the move provoked both by the hope of breaking down the *Rambler,* and by jealousy of Döllinger.[25]

The man described thus in Acton's letter certainly had little objective justification for complaint against the action of an ecclesiastical authority who thought it best for him not to remain as editor of this particular magazine.

Finally, there was the abandonment of the Oxford scheme. Actually there were two distinct tentatives to set up a Catholic house at Oxford under Newman's direction. These measures had to be abandoned, and the whole affair was quite painful to Newman. From the account given by Wilfrid Ward it is clear that much of the pain Newman suffered at this time came from the fact that Bishop Ullathorne, wishing to spare his feelings, failed to impress upon him the true status of the case.

The house could have been established and might have prospered were it not for the fact that the Holy Father did not want Newman himself to leave his old community and to take up residence at Oxford. Newman, however, did not want a Catholic establishment set up at Oxford by his community unless he himself were to be in residence there.

* * * * *

What has been written in this article has definitely not been written to challenge or to deny Cardinal Newman's greatness as a man and as a priest. His magnificent reputation cannot be harmed

[25] Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 481.

by anything that is being published today. I know of no one who would want to harm it, even if he could.

In some cases, however, an uncritical approval of some part or aspect of his writings can do serious spiritual harm to living priests. I firmly believe that the matter with which this article has dealt is one of these cases. To hold that Newman had objective justification for the complaints he expressed on the pages of his 1859-79 Journal is to say, equivalently, that any priest who has absolute confidence in his own intellectual powers and who is convinced that he has talents which could be employed to improve the spiritual and cultural condition of his fellow Catholics would be objectively justified in harboring and expressing attitudes towards his ecclesiastical superiors and his fellow priests like those set forth by Newman himself. And it would certainly imply that any priest who has been assigned by his superiors to a position which the world might estimate as inconspicuous or unpleasant would be entitled to complain and to be resentful against those superiors.

For a priest to imagine that Newman's writings in this particular area can serve to guide the formation of his own attitude towards his superiors and his brothers in the priesthood would be most unfortunate.

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Answers to Questions

ASSURING CERTAINTY OF DEATH

Question 1: May a person who has a great fear of being buried alive stipulate in his will that after his death his heart is to be pierced, or a vein opened, in order to make certain that he will be dead before burial?

Question 2: Would a doctor be permitted to perform the operation in question on the body of a person whose will contained such a stipulation?

Answer 1: The intention of a person who incorporates the clause described into his last will and testament is to have himself put to death directly in the event that he is actually not dead even after all signs of life have ceased and preparations are being made for his burial. Now, even though the possibility of such a contingency is very remote, the will to have himself killed in the event that it should occur is gravely sinful. On the other hand, a person could direct that his body be kept unburied until there is undoubted evidence of death through corruption. Of course, nowadays in the United States embalming is a universal custom and this involves practically the same procedure as that described by the questioner. Nevertheless, the purpose of embalming is to preserve the body for the few days of the wake, not to produce death in the case of one apparently dead. Hence, if a person stipulated that his body be embalmed, and his direct purpose was to have himself put to death (presuming that he had not actually died) he would be guilty of a sin in intention. It is well to note, however, that the embalming process should not be begun until there is certainty of death—usually, at least four or five hours after all signs of life have ceased.

Answer 2: A doctor should refuse to pierce the heart or open a vein of a deceased person merely in order to fulfill a stipulation made in the will from fear of being buried alive, for the doctor would be thus carrying out a sinful demand. Perhaps a single exception could be allowed—namely, in the event that some civil

injunction might require the executor to have the stipulation fulfilled, and the executor asks a doctor to perform the operation in order to avoid legal difficulties. In such a case, if the doctor is sure that the person is dead, and makes it clear that he is making the incision or puncture only to fulfill the demands of the law, he might be allowed to do it. But I would not agree with Fr. Davis (*Moral and Pastoral Theology,* II, p. 143) that a doctor could do so merely because the relatives request it, for in that case he would be concurring with their bad intention, even though he himself is sure that death has taken place.

INVISIBLE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH?

Question: Can we refer to sincere non-Catholics in the state of grace as invisible members of the Catholic Church?

Answer: Since the Church is essentially a visible society, membership in the Church must be something visible and external. In the words of Pope Pius XII: "Only those are really to be included as members of the Church who have been baptized and profess the true faith and who have not unhappily withdrawn from Body-unity or for grave faults been excluded by legitimate authority" *(Mystici corporis,* NCWC translation, n. 22). There is no place under these conditions for anything like invisible membership in the Church. It is true, those who are not actual members of the Church can be sanctified and saved if they are invincibly ignorant of their obligation to join the Church and are in the state of sanctifying grace, since such persons have an implicit desire of membership in the Church. But they are not to be reckoned as members of the Church—not even invisible members.

MARRIAGE OF SIAMESE TWINS

Question: I have heard of a pair of male Siamese twins who possessed separate bodies only down to the waist, and below that had only one body in common, including only one system of reproductive organs. What is to be said of the possibility of marriage by such a pair?

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Question 1: May a person who has a great fear of being buried alive stipulate in his will that after his death his heart is to be pierced, or a vein opened, in order to make certain that he will be dead before burial?

Question 2: Would a doctor be permitted to perform the operation in question on the body of a person whose will contained such a stipulation?

Answer 1: The intention of a person who incorporates the clause described into his last will and testament is to have himself put to death directly in the event that he is actually not dead even after all signs of life have ceased and preparations are being made for his burial. Now, even though the possibility of such a contingency is very remote, the will to have himself killed in the event that it should occur is gravely sinful. On the other hand, a person could direct that his body be kept unburied until there is undoubted evidence of death through corruption. Of course, nowadays in the United States embalming is a universal custom and this involves practically the same procedure as that described by the questioner. Nevertheless, the purpose of embalming is to preserve the body for the few days of the wake, not to produce death in the case of one apparently dead. Hence, if a person stipulated that his body be embalmed, and his direct purpose was to have himself put to death (presuming that he had not actually died) he would be guilty of a sin in intention. It is well to note, however, that the embalming process should not be begun until there is certainty of death—usually, at least four or five hours after all signs of life have ceased.

Answer 2: A doctor should refuse to pierce the heart or open a vein of a deceased person merely in order to fulfill a stipulation made in the will from fear of being buried alive, for the doctor would be thus carrying out a sinful demand. Perhaps a single exception could be allowed—namely, in the event that some civil

injunction might require the executor to have the stipulation fulfilled, and the executor asks a doctor to perform the operation in order to avoid legal difficulties. In such a case, if the doctor is sure that the person is dead, and makes it clear that he is making the incision or puncture only to fulfill the demands of the law, he might be allowed to do it. But I would not agree with Fr. Davis (*Moral and Pastoral Theology,* II, p. 143) that a doctor could do so merely because the relatives request it, for in that case he would be concurring with their bad intention, even though he himself is sure that death has taken place.

INVISIBLE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH?

Question: Can we refer to sincere non-Catholics in the state of grace as invisible members of the Catholic Church?

Answer: Since the Church is essentially a visible society, membership in the Church must be something visible and external. In the words of Pope Pius XII: "Only those are really to be included as members of the Church who have been baptized and profess the true faith and who have not unhappily withdrawn from Body-unity or for grave faults been excluded by legitimate authority" *(Mystici corporis,* NCWC translation, n. 22). There is no place under these conditions for anything like invisible membership in the Church. It is true, those who are not actual members of the Church can be sanctified and saved if they are invincibly ignorant of their obligation to join the Church and are in the state of sanctifying grace, since such persons have an implicit desire of membership in the Church. But they are not to be reckoned as members of the Church—not even invisible members.

MARRIAGE OF SIAMESE TWINS

Question: I have heard of a pair of male Siamese twins who possessed separate bodies only down to the waist, and below that had only one body in common, including only one system of reproductive organs. What is to be said of the possibility of marriage by such a pair?

Answer: Several years ago the newspapers featured a "two-headed baby," which apparently was a pair of Siamese twins such as our questioner describes. The infants lived only a short time, and I doubt if so deformed a pair could survive to maturity. However, in answer to the theological problem involved, I would say that marriage would be forbidden to such a pair by the very law of nature. For marriage essentially demands that each of the contracting partners give the other the *complete* and *exclusive* right to his or her sexual organs; but in the case described this is impossible, since each of the twins possesses only a partial right to the organs which they have in common. It might be asked why they could not agree to take the same woman as wife. But here, there too, would be an insuperable obstacle, since she would be taking two men as husbands, which would be polyandry, a state entirely repugnant to the law of God.

A PROBLEM IN PROFESSIONAL SECRECY

Question: May a doctor reveal the condition of a patient who happens to be a religious to the patient's religious superior, even against the patient's will?

Answer: It would seem that *per se* the religious has a right to secrecy regarding his physical condition when he consults a doctor, just as a lay person has. For the religious has not renounced through his religious profession his rights and obligations in connection with his bodily well-being. In the words of Merkelbach: "Religious *per se* retain intact their rights to their internal goods of body and of soul" (*Summa theologiae moralis,* II, n. 197). Hence, *per se* a doctor must respect this right of a religious patient and not speak of his condition to his superiors against the will of the patient. However, *per accidens* there might be circumstances which would release the doctor from this obligation. Thus, if he knows that the patient is neglecting to take necessary measures to preserve or to recover his health, he may and should speak of the matter to the superior. If the religious is suffering from a psychiatric ailment that calls for special attention and understanding on the part of the superior and the religious himself will not reveal it, the doctor may certainly do so. If the religious has some

contagious disease that is likely to be communicated to other members of the community, the doctor may give a warning to the superior if the patient himself will not do so. Moreover, if there is question of any financial expense, the doctor has a right to speak about it to the superior, since in such a case the vow of poverty which the religious has freely taken involves the permission of the superior.

BAPTISMAL SPONSORSHIP PRIOR TO THE CODE

Question: A divorced woman whose husband is still alive is now living in an invalid union. Recently she realized that when she was baptized more than fifty years ago (in 1900) the man who later became her husband (in 1919) was her godfather. The unusual feature is that he was a baptized *non-Catholic,* both at the time of her baptism and later when they were married. The only dispensation given at the time of the marriage was for mixed religion, with disparity of cult *ad cautelam.* The fact of the sponsorship apparently never occurred either to the woman herself or to the priest who made the arrangements at the time of the marriage. Now she is wondering if she can obtain a declaration of nullity of her previous marriage and thus be enabled to have her present union validated.

Answer: It is surprising that any priest would have allowed a non-Catholic to officiate as a sponsor at Baptism, even prior to the Code, which now declares (Can. 765, n. 2) that a heretic cannot validly act as a sponsor. Nevertheless, prior to the Code a baptized non-Catholic could exercise this office *validly,* though not licitly (Cf. Lehmkuhl, *Theologia moralis* [Friburg Brisg., 1898], II, n. 71; Gury-Ferreres, *Compendium theologiae moralis* [Barcelona, 1906], II, n. 252). Hence, if the baptized non-Catholic actually fulfilled the requirements of sponsorship, the diriment marital impediment of spiritual relationship would be present between him and the person baptized. And, even though the marriage took place after the Code was in force, declaring invalid the sponsorship of a heretic, it would seem that this would not be retroactive in respect to the relationship, since "the impediment of spiritual relationship, once contracted, remains always" (Gasparri, *De matrimonio,* I, n. 760). Hence, since no dispensation from spiritual

relationship was granted at the time of the marriage, there are sufficient reasons to institute a petition for a declaration of nullity, so that the present union can be validated.

Before a declaration of nullity could be granted, however, a number of points would have to be established. First, there must be practical certainty that the man himself was baptized at the time he officiated as godparent, since even in pre-code days an unbaptized person could not validly be a baptismal sponsor. Secondly, there must be assurance that the man acted as a true sponsor, and not merely as an "honorary godparent" as it is called (merely a witness). If he is named in the baptismal register as the sponsor without any qualifying remarks, the presumption is that the officiating priest accepted him as the real godparent; though, even in this event, I believe that, if possible, the man's own testimony should be sought as to whether or not he remembers putting his hand on the child at the time of baptism. Third, in the event that the baptism was administered only conditionally (the questioner does not mention this point), the impediment was not contracted unless the presumption was in favor of the validity of the baptism and of the nullity of the previous baptism (cf. Lehmkuhl, *op. cit.*, II, n. 758). Other points might have to be established in this particular case because of problems not mentioned by the questioner; but I believe that as he presented it, there is good reason to hope for a declaration of nullity of the marriage in question, with the subsequent opportunity to rectify the present union.

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Book Review

THE SHROUD OF TURIN. By Werner Bulst, S.J. Translated by Stephen McKenna, C.Ss.R., and James J. Galvin, C.Ss.R. In Co-operation with The Holy Shroud Guild, Esopus, New York. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1957. Pp. xviii + 167. 34 illustrations. $4.75.

The reviewer is of the opinion that this is the most complete and precise presentation in English of the case for and against the credibility of the Holy Shroud of Turin. The book contains 110 pages of actual text as well as 33 pages of documentation with 225 notes from reliable sources which will aid the specialist in following up the various questions raised by the Shroud. The nine pages of bibliography give an ample survey of the literature in favor of and against the authenticity of the Shroud in the periods before 1898, between 1898 and 1931, and after 1931. It is significant that after the superb photographs in black and white taken by G. Enrie in 1931 that the vast majority of writers on the Shroud favor its authenticity. The book also contains a Scriptural index, an index of persons and things, as well as 34 illustrations, the most striking of which is Picture 2 which is the general view of the Shroud in photo-negative.

The author discusses the case for and against the authenticity of the Shroud with admirable scholarly coolness and detachment. In succeeding chapters Father Bulst tells his readers the history of the Shroud, the attitude of the Church, the important studies made by textile and art experts, as well as the prominent role that photography has played in revealing the majesty of the Face on the Shroud. The archaeological, medical, scriptural, theological, and other scientific aspects of the Shroud have been carefully examined, and conclusions have been reached only after mature and painstaking deliberation. Father Bulst personally believes that the Shroud of Turin is authentic; still he forces no opinion on the reader, but is content to allow the testimony and evidence at hand speak for themselves. Throughout the work he is at pains to distinguish the well-established conclusion from the unproved hypothesis, and therein, the reviewer believes, lies the chief merit of this scholarly work. This careful separation of fact from fancy was to be expected, for the author tells us that the book is the product of long years of personal collaboration with historians, exegetes,